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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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19 January 1983

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

No. 2750

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PROGRESS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN AFRICA EXAMINED

Paris POLITIQUE AFRICAINE in French Dec 82 pp 3-7

[Article by J. Coppans and R. Buitenhuijs: "The Social Movement in Africa: Perpetual Motion?"]

[Text] The turbulence of African political life is more reminiscent of an animated drawing than it is a subject or means of scientific analysis. Indeed, coups d'etat, border conflicts and regional uprisings seem imbedded in the very fabric of societies on the Black continent. And yet, this "foreign dispatch" type view, focusing on the national and state level, underestimates, if not completely ignores, the more social dimensions of political expression. What is more, this perspective does not seize or recognize the very movement that produces society, its groups and all their relationships. One must add that the most diverse theoretical orientations find such a position of principle or facility most convenient.

There are those for whom the African continent is a vast "terrain of adventure" where the two superpowers (and sometimes the old colonial tutors) measure their presence or absence. It is as an echo of this planetary conflict that movements of adjustment or disfunction should shoot through local societies that can take no more. For other interpreters, the main causes of this agitation bear witness to the permanence of ancestral reflexes, of archaic relics such as tribalism or the peasant mentality. The (exquisite) cadaver of tradition is still twitching and the long-awaited rigor mortis (scouring, rational modernity) has not yet set in. Finally, there are those for whom these African societies are prey to the class struggle: an incurable epidemic or a revolutionary *deus ex machina*?

Naturally, criticism is always easy. What is there then to talk about? While the ideological and practical reality of vast social movements leaves no doubt, one still has to describe their operation and understand the mechanisms. The great frescoes à la J. Woddis, B. Davidson or J. Ziegler<sup>1</sup> verge on *trompe-l'oeil*, masking more than they explain the so-called nonpolitical vagueness of the social movements of contemporary Africa. Nevertheless, to interpret social phenomena through the political or to express -- and reduce -- political phenomena in terms of social movement is a very common exercise. An examination of confrontations between the government, its allies and the "others" makes it possible, if done thoroughly, to spot the elements of

construction, crystallization, relationships of strength, even domination and exploitation. Political education of the social movement is a powerful laboratory in which power plays and disguises throw the adversary -- and the foreign observer -- off the path!

Without taking the concepts of sociologist A. Touraine<sup>2</sup> up for our own use -- by Africanizing them -- we nevertheless believe that it can be useful, given the current state of research and reflection, to use the expression "social movement." We would thus mark the existence of several concomitant realities in constant juxtaposition, but which do not lend themselves to the traditional distinctions of political, economic, social, cultural, and so on. In this way, we wish to challenge the often journalistic category of social movements. This concept of events tends to ennoble certain events ("miscellaneous movements") and to deny others the label "political" because they do not present the institutional guarantee. In short, one finds in it everything that might in a certain way upset the established order or...the formal classifications of the analyst.

For us, the social movement expresses the peculiar features of contemporary African life. It is not exclusively identified with the lower groups<sup>3</sup> or the class struggle, for the social and cultural milieu in which political elements come to be and are expressed is not merely a decorative background (the "post-card side" of the special envoy, political scientist or anthropologist specializing in things African). Even if populism (several examples of which are analyzed in this issue) seems to be a very African style, it is but one of the possible forms of expression of the social movement. The repertoire of the latter is inexhaustible, which does not mean that it is without logic.

One must first of all spot that social movement. If the detour through discourse seemed necessary in order to produce the field in which struggles and identifications take place, it is because -- paradoxically enough -- the discourse is to be taken seriously, because the social actors themselves take it for ready money and give it an intensity whose intimate violence may be considerable. All the social strata unveil a vigor that carries them beyond their simple condition. Senegalese teachers reflect certain aspirations of the people, while Tanzanian workers prove that the state bureaucracy defends class interests.<sup>4</sup> But this consideration given to discourse implies an equal attention to practical decisions and actions. The episodes and featurelike developments of the adventures of J.-J. Rawlings or of the PRP [People's Redemption Party] in Kano make the emblematic strength of the charismatic personages relative and call for a precise description of the contradictions involved.<sup>5</sup>

Obviously, one must not fall into the trap of giving only the internal causes of the social movement. The limitations of foreign domination, the intervention of multinational companies in the world economy, the political shift of the West toward conservatism (Reagan, Thatcher) or social democracy (Mitterrand) have substantial influence on African decisions.

But African history of the colonial period -- increasingly African in its vision of things -- teaches us that the historic and popular actors on the Black continent did not always have their eye set on our "blue lines of the



Vosges" and that whatever the case, we must not confuse our interpretation of the international context with the African vision of the same history. The same vocabulary can signify different explanations, different positions. This is where the social movement appears with its own logic, its mechanisms of fabrication, fabulation, manipulation, interpretation of the political.

And yet, a pan-African or inter-African vision of the social movement does not mean much. The new social strata, categories or classes that take power, the floor or the money are far from being the same from one country to the next. National, comprador, bureaucratic, petty-bourgeois bourgeoisies jostle one another under the label of specialists or militants.<sup>6</sup> For their part, urban low-income groups are far from being marginal. It must be said that minicapitalism and populism seem to go hand in hand and are a success.<sup>7</sup> The peasantry sees its fate depending on the interest of foreign backers: It is coaxed to produce more and better, but it is scorned if it does not react to the entreaties addressed to it or repressed if it says and does what it thinks.

We propose no new theory. We are not the spokesman for any particular theory and one will not find satisfaction on this point in the explicit or implicit references of the authors of articles. Our position is deliberately pragmatic: Before producing a theory of the social movement, one should speak of it. Naturally, one cannot build anything without ideas, but it is necessary to first of all admit that the analysis of certain phenomena considered to be "lowly," without prestige or even insignificant by the scientific, university and political Vulgate, must occupy the front of the stage. The almost exclusive importance of English-speaking African countries in this issue is not any editorial accident. It quite simply reflects the delay or lack of interest in the things of this lower world which African studies in French have consistently shown for half a century.

The critical privilege of Marxist inspiration -- on the political or scientific levels -- is no longer sure. The anti-imperialism behind the strategies of African theoreticians curiously leads them to neglect that which makes their strength, their social capacity for mobilization. As for empiricist neo-Marxism, it detects, classifies and reclassifies without ever leaving the circle of those close to ethnological or sociological knowledge. What is lacking in African pertinence of Marxism is the democratic experience of political discussion and theoretical reflection. Imported by Africans or reworked locally by foreigners, it in no way results from an autonomous political experience that would enrich decisions made. Marxism remains a pure import in the hands of groups specializing in idea import-exports! It is a luxury product and will not become a common consumer product by virtue of a mere switch in labels or packing.<sup>8</sup>

The social liberation of Africa remains a big word. It is every man for himself. One has to recognize that the movement which seems to give more political weight (or more political chance) to certain social categories (the poor and the "damned") does not seem to distinguish itself from the case in which those in control of government speak of others (the same poor and damned), while being very careful not to allow them to speak! Neither the future nor

the present of socialisms and populisms seems assured. The symmetrical illusions of traditional communalism or healthy modernism are no longer valid safeguards. The worsening of social inequalities, of cultural and political alienations, leads to a common fund of demands, but for the time being seems to ban any more radical mobilization.

The political field embraces the entire planet and the most remote sanctuaries. The overlapping of these levels reduces the number of conflicts, the formulation of social awareness or political programs. Do social movements need a theory at the present time? They do need a spokesman for those who do not speak, for they are too exploited or disoriented, and they especially need analysts for those who too often speak without ever speaking of themselves. As J.-J. Rawlings himself recently said: "It would be too simple if I were to transmit a message only to the Ghanaian people! They understand me instinctively!"<sup>9</sup>

"Nonsense!" the pessimists will say. "Not only that!" others will say, whether optimistic or naive.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Actually, these works reduce the social movement to a national movement. For example, see B. Davidson: "L'Afrique au XXe Siecle," Paris, Editions J. A., 1979, 446 pp, and J. Ziegler: "Main Basse Sur l'Afrique," Paris Le Seuil, 1978, 298 pp.
2. See, for example, the first part of "La Voix et le Regard," Paris, Le Seuil, 1978, 315 pp: "Social movements are neither accidents nor factors of change. They are the collective action of actors at the highest level, the class actors, who fight for social leadership of historicity, the main cultural orientations by which a society normally organizes its relationship with its environment. An analysis of societies brings out antagonistic social movements and their common cultural stakes behind the false positiveness of order, of categories of social practices and behind ideologies. It happens that social movements may be weak or disorganized. It is never possible in historical societies not to recognize their place at the heart of social life." (p 40)
3. See "Politique Africaine I (1), 1981: "Politics in Black Africa: The High and the Low."
4. See articles by A. Sylla and P. Mihyo.
5. See articles by R. Jeffries, G. Nicolas and G. Dauch.
6. See LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "L'Afrique des Bourgeoisies Nouvelles," November 1981.
7. See, for example, works by R. Jeffries or A. Pearce on workers in Ghana or Nigeria.

8. See J. Copans: "The Marxist Concept of Class: Political and Theoretical Formulations in the African and Africanist Context"; report to the seminar: "Endogenous Groups in World Perspective: The Imperatives of Endogenous Development," New Delhi, January 1981, 18 pp, mimeo.
9. In a talk published in AFRIQUE-ASIE, No 271, 5 July 1981, p 30.

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## INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

### SUCCESS OF INTER-AFRICAN MEETINGS PRAISED

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 21 Dec 82 p 1

[Editorial by Auguste Miremont: "The Spirit of Yamoussoukro"]

[Text] Will the decisions of Yamoussoukro be surprising because of the quickness with which the summits of CEAO, ANAD [Non-Aggression and Defense Aid Agreement] and UMOA [West African Monetary Union] have affected them?

In fact the chiefs of state of our subregion have given a great lesson in efficiency. And after the various vicissitudes which the OAU experienced, it is really reassuring that it was shown that tolerance, respect for the equality of one and the other, consideration for each one's dignity and fraternity--on which the relations between our chiefs of state are based--were not without success at the Yamoussoukro summits. It is obvious that friendship and confidence lead to good results, regardless of the questions discussed.

And if the CEAO, ANAD and UMOA have become the most constructive organizations in Africa, where time is not wasted in useless demagoguery or the search for some kind of leadership, it is because the idea of solidarity is deeply rooted and experienced there. Thus the battles of ideologies are excluded from them to the benefit of the real problems of development and the social-economic progress of our countries. And in this situation of world crisis, which exacerbates nationalism, encourages selfishness, leads to protectionism and intensifies the lust for profit among nations, it is fortunate that our countries benefit from the realism and cooperation between them.

President Houphouet was to say at the opening of the CEAO summit Sunday, "it is no longer time for talk, but for reflection, consultation and action."

The striking balance shown by the Third World, the group to which our continent belongs, could only lead him to this appeal.

Let us consider it: 626 billion dollars in debt; "severe malnutrition" for 22 of our countries; the death of 20 million children in 1981 and 40,000 every day in 1982; the alarming drop (15 percent in the seventies, much more for the eighties) in food production; a critical situation for 5 million African refugees; wars, fratricidal and power struggles, apartheid etc.

Facing this overwhelming picture, the credit adjustments of the industrialized nations, blackmailing for aid, the liquidation of our states by the pursuit of a murderous speculation, thanks to the maintenance of a free exchange system favoring the strongest, why not then count on ourselves to create the conditions for genuine prosperity in our countries? And for that, reflection and consultation combined with action were and still are more than necessary.

We can be proud of belonging to these subregional organizations which are working in this direction, without fanfare.

As we can also be proud, we Ivorians, of the respect shown our "old stalwart" by his peers and the friendliness and affection with which they overwhelmed him and the homage to his wisdom, his political genius, his clear-sightedness and the "moral authority" which he exercises.

Are these festivals of African friendship and solidarity? Yes, and Yamoussoukro could only serve for that, when one knows the almost sacred affection which Africans feel for the birthplace of President Houphouet-Boigny this "veteran leader in the struggle for genuine progress."

"Yamoussoukro, long live hope!" wrote the CEAO secretary general. The hope--which Yamoussoukro has not betrayed--for the 30 million human beings who make up the West African Economic Community. The hope that the "spirit of Yamoussoukro," this spirit of tolerance for more understanding and effectiveness, which presides over the good operation of the organizations of our subregion, may spread over all of Africa and inspire its actions.

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INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

CEAO FINAL COMMUNIQUE

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 21 Dec 82 p 23

[Text] The eighth conference of CEAO chiefs of state took place at Yamoussoukro on 19 and 20 December 1982, under the chairmanship of His Excellency Abdou Diouf, president of the Republic of Senegal, acting chairman of the conference.

The following participated in this meeting:

For the Republic of the Ivory Coast

His Excellency Felix Houphouet-Boigny

President of the republic

For the Republic of Upper Volta

His Excellency Doctor-Commander Jean Baptiste Ouedraogo

President of the CSP [Council of People's Salvation]

Chief of State

For the Republic of Mali

His Excellency General Moussa Traore

President of the Republic

For the Islamic Republic of Mauretania

His Excellency Colonel Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidalla

Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation

Chief of State

For the Republic of Niger

His Excellency Colonel Seyni Kountche

Chairman of the Supreme Military Council; chief of state

The following also attended as observers

For the Republic of Benin

His Excellency Isidore Amoussou, minister of finance

His Excellency Tiamiou Adjibade, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation

For the Republic of Togo

His Excellency Tete Tevi-Benissan, minister of finance and economy

The conference also observed with satisfaction the progress made in achieving the objectives assigned to the community, in particular in the field of trade on one hand, and community projects on the other hand.

The chiefs of state were also pleased with the spirit of solidarity which motivates the members of the community, the increasing credibility of our organization, both on the African as well as international level, which obtains for it substantial support of the development financing institutions, friendly countries and international organizations.

They request the secretariat to continue the process of completion of community projects and integration of markets.

They were eager to congratulate the Council of Ministers, the secretary general of the community, all their associates as well as all the experts for the fine work accomplished, which allowed the community to consolidate its achievements and demonstrate its ability to meet the commitments of the program started.

The chiefs of state wished to reaffirm their pledge to continue within the CEAO framework in their current efforts which aim at meeting the needs of their people, namely in the field of rural hydraulics, mass transport and human resources for the prudent development of our potentialities.

The conference wanted finally to express its gratitude and warmly congratulate Abdou Diouf, president of the Republic of Senegal, who has rendered outstanding service to the community as acting CEA0 president.

The conference decided to entrust the acting presidency for the period 1982-1983 to His Excellency Colonel Seyni Kountche, Chairman of the Supreme Military Council, chief of state, Republic of Niger.

The ninth conference of chiefs of state will be held in Niamey in October 1983.

The chiefs of state thank particularly all the friendly countries, the international organizations and the institutions financing development for their substantial and crucial contribution to the technical and financial implementation of community projects.

At the end of their proceedings, the chiefs of state of the Republic of Upper Volta, the Republic of Mali, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, the Republic of Niger and the Republic of Senegal thank their senior member, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the government and the Ivorian people for the spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome, the fraternal warmth and the atmosphere of friendship which they have enjoyed during their stay in Yamoussoukro.

Issued in Yamoussoukro, 20 December 1982.

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ANGOLA

FAPLA MILITARY ACTIONS IN DECEMBER REPORTED

MB061441 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 5 Jan 83

[Text] In December the 16th brigade of the glorious People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] stationed at Cuito-Cuanavale neutralized a deep penetration into the north of Cuando Cubango Province by puppet and mercenary forces mobilized by South Africa. The prompt response from the glorious FAPLA put the puppet and mercenary forces in the service of Pretoria to flight, inflicting heavy losses, both human and materiel. The enemy suffered 300 dead and 57 prisoners, and quantities of war materiel were captured. The intention of the bands, which are armed by Pretoria to delay the Angolan revolutionary process, was to gather at Lupire commune, northeast of Cuando Cubango Province, from where they would carry out criminal activities against the defenseless population of the country's southern provinces.

Yesterday morning, (Col Antonio dos Santos Franca Ndalú), chief of the general staff and member of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee, went to Cuito-Cuanavale to encourage the 16th brigade forces, who have distinguished themselves by neutralizing yet another move by the puppet and mercenary forces mobilized by South Africa against the People's Republic of Angola. (Colonel Ndalú) met with the brigade officers, NCO's and soldiers and encouraged them to raise their combat readiness so that they can drive back [words indistinct].

In December the South African-backed armed bands launched an incursion into Bie Province causing 35 dead, including four people's defense organization members. According to information given to ANGOP by the Ministry of State Security, the armed bands kidnapped three people and burned 74 houses, in addition to plundering a social services warehouse, during their operation. Also in December a band kidnapped 50 people from (Chingondo) village, (Camakupa) region, and set off a bomb which they had placed in a vehicle parked close to a local resident's house in the suburbs of the city of (Cuito). The vehicle and the house were destroyed.

A number of FAELA forces discovered and disassembled a landmine near (Catakua) village, (Camakupa) Region.

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ANGOLA

SOVIET ENVOY SPEAKS ON DIPLOMATIC CORP BEHALF

Envoy's Speech

MB041540 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Jan 83

[New Year message from the diplomatic corps to Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, read by Soviet Ambassador Vadim Petrovich Loginov in Portuguese on 2 January, place not given--recorded]

[Text] Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos received a message from the diplomatic corps accredited to our country which was read by Vadim Petrovich Loginov, the Soviet ambassador to Angola, on behalf of all diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Republic of Angola.

[Begin recording] Your Excellency the president of the People's Republic of Angola: [words indistinct] entrusted by the heads of the diplomatic missions, and [word indistinct] international representations accredited to the People's Republic of Angola to express our sincere gratitude that Your Excellency has agreed to receive us in the beginning of this new year of 1983. We greet you in this new year and request that you convey our most cordial compliments, as well as our wishes for peace and well-being for your fatherland, to other leaders of the People's Republic of Angola and the Angolan people.

For over 7 years now Angola has been marching forward on the path of freedom and independence, which have been won in the difficult and bloody war against the colonialists. We have been able to see that despite the particularly difficult conditions, significant successes in building political and economic structures of this young state have been achieved. Under the leadership of Your Excellency--a loyal follower of the cause of the late Dr Antonio Agostinho Neto, founder and first president of the People's Republic of Angola--important objectives such as free medical care and educational services for all Angolan people have been achieved. The Angolan people can now count in broad opportunities to expand their national culture.

We understand that many problems remain to be solved and that the continuing acts of aggression by the racist South Africans is the main obstacle for the cause of national reconstruction and the [word indistinct] well being of the people. As Your Excellency has correctly stated in your new year message to the Angolan

people, the year that has just ended was characterized by the complexity resulting from the international situation. It is significant that in this context the active external policy conducted by Your Excellency has led to the strengthening of your country's prestige in the international arena. International public opinion and all peace-loving forces of this planet are on the side of the People's Republic of Angola and its just cause. On different occasions the United Nations has called for an end to South Africa's aggressions and for a peaceful resolution of southern African problems. The 37th session of the UN General Assembly has once again condemned the acts of aggression by the racists against Angola. It has demanded the end of the illegal occupation of Namibia as well as the solution of the Namibian problem in terms of pertinent resolutions by the same body.

Your Excellency may rest assured that we, the representatives of the different states and international bodies gathered here, will use every means at our disposal to support the People's Republic of Angola with the view to bringing to the whole of its territory the peace that it deserves so much. In this year that has just begun, the members of the diplomatic corps wish Your Excellency good health as well as new successes in fulfilling your high duties--those of increasing responsibility for the good of the People's Republic of Angola. We join you in your words that have been expressed in the new year message. We wish peace and well being for all citizens of your country. [end recording]

That was the new year message read by Soviet ambassador accredited to our country on behalf of all diplomatic representations accredited to Angola and addressed to Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola.

#### Dos Santos' Reply

MB041838 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 3 Jan 83

[Speech by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in reply to new year message from diplomatic corps on 2 January 1983, place not given--recorded]

[Text] Your Excellencies, heads of diplomatic missions and representatives of international organizations, ladies, comrades: When a new year begins, your participation in this humble and traditional ceremony of presentation of greetings is important and useful for us in view of the spirit of cordiality and solidarity that it gives to the relations between our governments and peoples. Therefore, I want to thank Your Excellencies and your wives for this gesture, which has eloquently been reflected in the kind and sympathetic words addressed to the Angolan people, to their president and the government by His Excellency, the dean, and to take this opportunity to wish you a happy and prosperous new year.

We know that you belong to a group of men in the world who have the important mission of negotiating and of reconciling political interests which sometimes are actually opposed to each other. It is a difficult but noble mission, since the diplomat's imagination and eloquence can make peace prevail over war, friendship over disagreement, or even dynamism over apathy in the relations among states. We hope, therefore, that your role may serve to strengthen peace and fraternity among men and among peoples on the face of the earth, a necessary

condition to build their happiness and well-being. Nevertheless, peace cannot be found unless the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state are respected. May the use of force in international relations be banned, and the principles of sovereign equality and of reciprocity of advantages be respected in a mutual basis--the principle of peaceful coexistence.

The peoples still under colonial domination can only build their happiness when they hold the reins of their destiny. It is therefore necessary to respect their right to self-determination and independence, which is recognized by all who love peace, freedom and social progress.

In the year that has just ended the principles of the inalienable rights which I have just mentioned continued to be ignored, and they were systematically violated by imperialist countries. Africa as a whole was also the victim of imperialism's machinations, which succeeded in sowing discord among the OAU members countries in such a way that it could not hold its 19th summit for lack of quorum, despite the repeated efforts that have been made. This was due to the absence of a minority of countries which used Western Sahara's admission and the Chad issue as a false pretext not to go to Libya. The paralysis of our continental organization deprives the African people of an important instrument in the struggle for total liberation and stability on the continent. It makes the continent more vulnerable to the designs of the Western powers, which wish to recolonize Africa.

Consequently, the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated considerably, thus becoming one of the most dangerous focal points of international tension. In this region the racist South African regime has strengthened itself as an instrument of imperialist confrontation. It has pursued its aggressive policy of destabilization of the states in the region by undermining their economic and social development. It has also tried in vain to annihilate the national liberation movements.

Despite the opposition among the international community, particularly the African community, as clearly expressed in the latest resolutions adopted by the 37th session of the UN General Assembly, the United States of America, in an attitude of contempt and in a challenge to world public opinion, has continued to insist on an absurd policy [words indistinct] with the clear intention of delaying the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence and of keeping the territory under occupation so that it can continue to serve as a base for racist South Africa's destabilization campaign, for Angolan puppets and for mercenaries in its service against the Angolan revolution.

The government of the People's Republic of Angola has tried to fulfill the aspirations of the Angolan people by working to solve their economic and social problems in the framework of its socialist option and by working to strengthen national independence. The government, however, cannot dissociate itself from the political and regional context of which it is an integral part. Nor can it isolate itself from the critical world economical situation or the tense international political situation, the effects of which have particular and pernicious repercussion in the lives of our people. Thus the need for a more solid attitude toward progress and just objectives, and for a total independence and total liberation. [passage indistinct]

## ANGOLA

### BRIEFS

USSR TRADE DECLINES--The total volume of trade for 1982 between the People's Republic of Angola and the Soviet Union has been estimated at 2 million kwanzas. The trade between the two countries is based on economic cooperation agreements signed on 28 May 1976 in Moscow. Angolan exports to the Soviet Union were primarily coffee, quartz and sisal, although these were exported in small quantities in view of the country's present social and economic situation, which has been aggravated by the armed activities of the puppet bands and by the occupation of part of the Angola province of Cunene by forces of the South African Army. From the Soviet Union Angola imported essential goods required by the present situation. Among these goods were vehicles, spare parts, construction equipment, agriculture machinery--mainly for cotton production--medical supplies and processed foodstuffs. Sources close to the Ministries of External Commerce and Planning say that the 2 million kwanzas figure is slightly lower than figures for previous years. The sources, however, have reaffirmed the desire to increase economic cooperation between the two countries on a basis of mutual advantage. [Text] [Text] [MB051405 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 5 Jan 83]

CSO: 3442/97

## BENIN

### BENIN-LIBYA JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Cotonou EHUZU in French 6 Dec 82 pp 1, 6

[Text] The fourth session of the mixed commission of Beninese-Arab Libyan cooperation was held in Cotonou from 2 to 4 December 1982.

The Arab-Libyan delegation was led by Mohamed El Mabruk, secretary of the People's General Committee of Civil Service Workers of Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Beninese delegation was headed by Tiamiou Abjibade, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation.

The two (2) parties, in order to implement the desire of the two (2) chiefs of state to improve even more cooperation between the two countries to make it an exemplary model of economic collaboration between African countries, evaluated joint projects, pinpointing problems they were acquainted with and making proposals in the framework of measures to take to accelerate their rapid completion.

For that purpose, they have studied the situation of the three mixed companies and that of projects in progress in the field of public works, information and culture.

During the session, the head of the Arab Libyan delegation paid courtesy calls to the minister of public works, construction and housing, to the minister of industry, mines and energy, to the minister of state farms, livestock and fishing and the minister of labor and social affairs. He attended the inauguration of the administrative and teaching unit of the Pan-African Center of Cooperative Training and he visited the SABL I poultry incubator.

Finally the president of the republic gave Mohamed El Mabruk an audience.

At the end of the proceedings, the head of the Libyan Arab delegation thanked the Beninese people and government for the warm and fraternal welcome given him as well as his delegation.

The two (2) parties agreed that the fifth (5th) session of the mixed commission of Beninese-Arab Libyan cooperation will be held in Cotonou in 1983 at a date to be jointly agreed upon.

Issued in Cotonou on 4 December 1982 in two (2) copies, in the French and Arabic languages, with the two texts being equally valid.

8490

CS0: 3419/351

BANTU CIVILIZATION CENTER CREATED IN GABON

AB130818 Paris AFP in English 0802 GMT 13 Jan 83

[By Jean-Eudes Barbier]

[Text] Libreville, 13 Jan (AFP)--The establishment here last weekend of an International Center for Bantu Civilization (ICBC) marks the beginning of a "major cultural policy without which no human advance or development is possible," in the words of Gabonese Head of State Omar Bongo, the driving force behind the idea.

Opening the conference of ministers of culture which agreed to set up the center on January 7, President Bongo stressed the importance which Africa attached to affirming its cultural identity, to "make history instead of being subjected to it," and to "recover from the shock of colonialism."

The Bantu region is inhabited by some 150 million people, covering 22 countries. The Bantu peoples have no common ethnic origins, but their languages fall within the same linguistic grouping, and the region stretches from Nigeria in the West to the Comoro Islands in the East, passing through Zaire, Angola, Zambia, Tanzania and Mozambique.

The diversity of the languages of the colonists--French, English, Portuguese and Spanish--and of their political systems contributed for a long time to the cultural separation of these countries. The main objective of the ICBC is to help them to come together again.

For President Bongo economic cooperation and the emergence of an African common market are inextricably linked with rational cultural development. "What will give our peoples their identity and cohesion can only be found in the values revealed in our civilization and common history. The history and traditions which the colonial power has imposed on Africa must be broken," he said.

It is only through awareness of its cultural identity that black Africa can one day realize political unity and face up to external threats "from wherever they might come," President Bongo said. He criticized "economic power from abroad" which "under the pretence of inevitable world crises makes us pay dearly for our political independence."



Observers here said that such sentiments could only find an echo in other leaders of African states within the Bantu region. Eight of them--Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Zaire and Zambia, as well as Gabon--have already signed the convention setting up the ICBC.

Under this convention the center will have the essential function of "preserving and conserving the authentic values of the Bantu civilization in all sectors of activity and research, including ethnology, literature, traditional medicine, pharmacology, music, painting, architecture, political science and philosophy."

The center will cooperate with other African and international institutions of a cultural, educational and scientific character. It will also seek to promote studies on Bantu culture, give training and information to teachers, artists, researchers and producers of cultural events, and organize meetings and cultural exchanges.

The heart of the ICBC, and its main reason for existence, will be a data bank to centralize the mass of information on Bantu civilization. The bank will be lined through computer terminals to each country concerned.

Gabon has earmarked some \$6 million to launch the ICBC effectively in the next few months. Other aid will come from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Development Fund, the African Cultural Institute and the Cultural and Technical Cooperation Agency.

Gabon will also undertake construction of the center, which will have buildings for artistic and cultural activities as well as administration. They will include a theater, a library, an exhibition hall, laboratories and study rooms. The idea, in President Bongo's words, is to give Africans back what they need most--a sense of identity.

CSO: 3400/569

## BRIEFS

OFFICIAL TALKS WITH FRG--Martin Bongo, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, this morning met with the West German ambassador and director for African affairs in the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The West German diplomat delivered to Gabonese Foreign Minister Martin Bongo a message from his West German counterpart, Dietrich Genscher. He also took the opportunity to discuss cooperation between Gabon and the FRG with Minister of State Martin Bongo. The two men reaffirmed the desire of their respective governments to strengthen bilateral cooperation. It emerged from these talks that Gabon and the FRG have the same views on African issues, in particular on apartheid in South Africa, on the independence of Namibia and on Chad. On this last point the West German diplomat said that the FRG is preparing to reopen its embassy in Ndjamena which was closed 3 years ago because of the war situation in that country. He also hoped that Chad would find once again a comfortable peace based on a reconciliation of all Chadian factions. He said that the chances of such a reconciliation were greater with Hissein Habre than in past years. [Text] [AB122048 Libreville Domestic Service in French 1830 GMT 12 Jan 83]

CSO: 3419/405

SEKO TOURE SPEECH FOR GUINEA-BISSAU LEADER

AB071647 Conakry Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 6 Jan 83

[Speech by Guinean President Sekou Toure at a civic reception organized for visiting Guinea-Bissau President Bernardo Joao Vieira in Boke on 6 January--recorded]

[Text] In the name of Africa, ready? For social and democratic progress, ready? For production, ready? For the revolution, ready? Down with imperialism! Down with colonialism! Down with neocolonialism! Honor to the people! Power to the people! Glory to the people! Victory to the people! Long live the revolution! Long live Guinea-Bissau! Long live President Nino! Long live African unity! [Shouts of long live President Ahmed Sekou Toure]

Comrades of Boke, we are very happy to be with you. We have noted your total readiness to live dynamically within the Guinean Democratic Party [PDG] as in one single entity whose contribution to the progress of the revolution continues to grow. We congratulate you for your mobilization. Our perfect organization of manifestations, the order in which arrangements are planned and our enthusiasm demonstrate the abilities for which we are noted. We have noted that you are, in fact, making progress. This is why we are sending you the warm congratulations of the leadership of the Guinean revolution. [Applause] We are very happy to be here with a friend, a brother in struggle. He shared with us the same concerns and experiences as well as the same hopes for a life of total independence and dignity in progress.

As the governor has just told you, we are here for a working meeting. Any meeting between two brothers can only aim at strengthening the basis for fraternity, at deepening the confidence and the friendship and even though our two countries bore the same names--one was called Portuguese Guinea and the other French Guinea--they became independent and must now be African Guinea at the service of African progress. [Applause] It is normal that we achieve this. If we cannot achieve this today, our children will be able to do so tomorrow and if these children also cannot do it tomorrow, our grandchildren will achieve it later. This is the way that will lead us to progress. We greet our brothers and tell them--as the

governor has said--that they are not abroad, they are in Guinea, on the soil of their own fatherland and they belong to these people just as we felt at home when we were in Bissau and in Gabou. We felt that we were still among the Guinean people. [Applause] We greet them and we affirm our total confidence in them as well as our total solidarity with them in their struggle for the strengthening of confidence in our people and strengthening of the basis of democratic and social progress. Between our two countries, between our two governments, there is total confidence, and this is why we shall remain united, as we were during the liberation struggle against the imperialist and colonialist enemies. We shall remain united in the task of building the welfare of our people. We shall remain united in the building of Africa, really independent and (?ready) to face all vicissitudes of life and all negative influences. Once again, we say "Long live the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, long live African unity, long live the international cooperation! [Applause] Dear brothers and friend Nino, you are among family. We will address you as sisters and brothers. Ready for the revolution! [Applause]

CSO: 3419/396

GUINEA

GUINEA-BISSAU PRESIDENT'S SPEECH IN BOKE 6 JANUARY

AB072108 Conakry Domestic Service in French 2200 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Speech by Guinea-Bissau President Joao Bernardo Vieira's on 6 January at a civic reception hosted in Boke by Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure--recorded, in Portuguese interspersed with French translation]

[Excerpts] Comrade President Ahmed Sekou Toure, secretary general of the Guinean Democratic Party [PDG] and supreme leader of the Guinean revolution, comrade members of the Political Bureau of the PDG, citizens of Boke region: We are very pleased to be here again today on this soil of Boke after being away for 8 years, 8 years during which we were separated physically. But during the 8 years, we have remained spiritually united in the same objectives and in the same common struggle for the progress and happiness of our people. Once again, we would like to thank the revolutionary Guinean people, their beloved leader, President Ahmed Sekou Toure, and their vanguard party, the PDC, for all they have done for Africa and for Guinea-Bissau.

We are very well aware of the pressure exerted on the Guinean people and their party culminating in the attack on the capital city in order to destroy the Guinean revolution and to destroy the revolution in Guinea-Bissau. As President Ahmed Sekou Toure said earlier, the imperialists were once again mistaken. For they have made several attempts without success and they will never be successful. [Applause] This is why, when we watch the progress made by the brotherly Guinean people, we feel greater comfort than ever. We feel we are not alone. We feel that we are under protection. We feel that we are bound together with brotherly people. We therefore pay tribute to their leaders who right from the start understood that Guinea's revolution would never feel free until Guinea-Bissau had freed itself. As President Sekou Toure said earlier, Guinea could not feel free until other people have been freed. We are independent now. We must therefore maintain cooperation, friendship, and brotherhood on the basis of our historic bonds beyond our past Portuguese and French colonization.

We had many internal problems inside our party. This is why on 14 November we had to put an end to all irregularities and injustices which were prevailing. We want to be well understood here. Because, as I have said and

will continue to say, we became well known only on the combat field. When we made the 14 November move, we were condemned. We were described as bandits and traitors; traitors who had walked from Conakry to Guinea-Bissau. [Applause] I wonder whether traitors could foot it from Boke to Guinea-Bissau. We fought our way to the Geba River, over there. We will only say this: Certain persons can call us traitors. But the people will never call us traitors. [Applause] The people used to see us on foot. They gave us food and shelter. They know that we can never become traitors. They know that we will never betray them. On the contrary, we want justice and equality; we want brotherhood. This is why we carried out a coup on 14 November.

We came here to meet our elder brother in order to examine several problems and to strengthen our ties of cooperation and friendship. As we all know, we are brothers. We were separated. But as our elder brother said earlier in his speech, we must work together to achieve African unity. If we do not achieve it now, others will achieve it. Just like Almany Samory who fought unsuccessfully and then other generations, such as that of President Sekou Toure and others, succeeded in their struggle. This is why we must fight to perpetuate the ideals, and to establish in our two countries peace, brotherhood, well-being for all our people.

Long live the PDG! Long live the PDG! Long live President Ahmed Sekou Toure! Long live President Ahmed Sekou Toure! Long live the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Guinea-Conakry! Thank you. [Applause]

CSO: 3419/396

## GUINEA

### BRIEFS

SEA DISPUTE DISCUSSED--Dakar, Jan 8 (AFP)--Guinean President Ahmed Sekou Toure and neighbouring Guinea-Bissau's head of state, Gen Joao Bernardo Vieira, conferred in the Guinean town of Boke Friday, Conakry Radio, heard here, reported. Reliable sources in Bissau said the two leaders discussed a dispute between the two countries over territorial sea limits. The dispute has been revived recently because of an oil exploration contract Guinea signed two years ago with a U.S. firm, Union Texas Petroleum. Guinea-Bissau has taken military steps to prevent prospecting activity in the disputed zone off the Bissagos archipelago. [Text] [AB081045 Paris AFP in English 0726 GMT 8 Jan 83]

CSO: 3400/565

## LIBERIA

### BRIEFS

IVORIAN BORDER GUARDS RELEASED--Following a thorough review of circumstances surrounding the recent arrest of two armed Ivorian security guards on Liberian territory, the government has ordered their immediate release and subsequent turnover to the custody of the ambassador of the Ivory coast near Monrovia for repatriation. A Foreign Ministry release said that the entire incident was unfortunate and resulted from a misunderstanding which developed when the Ivorian security guards made minor incursions into Liberian territory in pursuit of an Ivorian vehicle which was traveling to Liberia. [Text] [AB081244 Monrovia Radio Elwa in English 1200 GMT 8 Jan 83]

MILITARY TRIBUNAL CHAIRMAN APPOINTED--A new chairman of the special military tribunal has been appointed. He is Maj Gen Alfred Gayflor. Prior to his appointment, Major General Gayflor had the rank of colonel and served as co-chairman of the tribunal since it was set up by the PRC [People's Redemption Council] in 1980. Major General Gayflor was appointed chairman and elevated to the rank of Major General today by the head of state Commander in Chief Samuel Kanyon Doe. He succeeds retired Maj Gen Joseph Blamo, according to LINA [Liberian News Agency] quoting an executive mansion release which says the new tribunal chairman is to be commissioned immediately. [Text] [AB071827 Monrovia Radio Elwa in English 1600 GMT 7 Jan 83]

CSO: 3400/565



AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION NEEDS DETAILED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 24 Nov 82 pp 1-2

[Article by Guido d'Onofrio]

[Text] It is estimated that by the year 2000, our planet will have 6 billion inhabitants. Feeding that population will constitute one of the crucial problems of the end of the 20th century.

It is useful to recall that before the appearance of modern agriculture, the temperate regions that have regular climatic conditions experienced many famines every time the increase in population was not accompanied by an increase in farm production. The most recent occurred in Ireland from 1846 to 1851 and resulted in the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Irish to the United States. While these regions seem safe from such scourges for the present time, it should not be forgotten that the more the population increases, the more agricultural yield must increase in all countries.

According to reports from specialized organizations, 90 percent of all developing countries imported some 88 million tons of grain in 1981, with 90 percent of that grain coming from a small number of countries. Only an intensification of world agriculture will make it possible for every human being to have enough to eat by the year 2000.

Such an intensification is all the more necessary because part of the inter-tropical zone is a sensitive area climatewise, threatened by periods of drought and floods similar to the one that hit Madagascar this year, a flood due to excessive precipitation and the lack of flood control.

A solution to contemporary food and agriculture problems can only be sought in the dissemination throughout the world of intensive agriculture. In order to achieve such a goal, it is necessary to implement a certain number of well-known production factors:

High-yield varieties, well-adapted to the soil and climates found where they are grown; protection for crops against insects and disease; rational use of water (to make 1 kilogram of dry plant matter, the plant needs from 200 to 300 liters of water); and maintenance of an adequate level of fertility through the use of organic matter and mineral fertilizers. It is perhaps useful to

go into some detail about this last production factor in order to clarify the concept of soil fertility, for those not acquainted with the subject.

In keeping with the laws of Aristotelian physics, economists since Ricardo have tended to consider fertility as natural and imperishable, a property inherent in the soil. But progress in chemistry and agronomy since Liebig have brought that concept into question, a concept that unfortunately still remains valid for those not knowledgeable about the land.

Let us now come back to the concept of fertility.

In an ecosystem in which man does not intervene, plant life is limited by only two factors: water and mineral elements. The latter, taken up by the plant, return to the soil through the litter which turns into humus. This in turn frees the mineral elements that nourish plants and a natural balance is established.

Man upsets this balance by creating a new ecosystem: farming. Most of the crops are not recycled, but leave the soil, along with elements that fertilize the soil. There is consequently a transfer of fertility. Urbanization increases such transfers. If the elements are not put back, fertility is reduced. Productive agriculture can be compared with mining, with the plant being both the means of extraction and the ore extracted. Yield can only drop if the mine is allowed to become exhausted. Naturally, vegetation will always find some minerals in the soil in order to continue its cycle, but if that quantity is low, yield is also low. If the soil is rich (fertile), yield will also be high.

When one enriches the soil artificially, either through the addition of large quantities of manure or of mineral fertilizers, yields go up (see photos [not reproduced]). In all cases of grain crops, the amount of grain produced per unit of fertilizer put into the soil (N, P or K) is on the order of 10 kilograms. When conditions are favorable and no other factor limits yield, productivity can be high.

In Madagascar, the food situation (rice) is as follows:

In 1980, there was a population of 9 million, the area planted in rice was 1,180,000 hectares and production totaled 2,160,000 tons of paddy, or a yield of 1.83 tons per hectare, making it possible to provide 240 kilograms of paddy per person per year.

In 20 years -- that is, by the year 2000 -- if population growth remains at the exponential rate of 2.8 percent a year, which corresponds to a doubling in 25 years, the population will be:  $9 \times (1.028)^{20}$ : 15.6 million inhabitants, or an additional 6.6 million Malagasy (the equivalent of the Malagasy population in 1965), an increase of 73 percent.

In order to assure every Malagasy citizen of 240 kilograms of paddy a year, 73 percent more paddy must be produced, a total of 3.74 tons of paddy, or an additional 1.58 tons of paddy.

However, the current trend -- for the past 10 years -- is an increase in rice growing areas of about 1 percent a year. Consequently, the area in rice by the year 2000 will be: 1.18 million X (1.01)<sup>20</sup>: 1.44 million hectares, or 260,000 hectares put in rice, corresponding to a 22-percent increase in the growing and production area. There will thus be a 51-percent shortage, or 1,104,000 tons of paddy, representing some 700,000 tons of rice.

In order to make up the deficit, one can either produce locally or import rice.

According to official reports drawn up by organizations specializing in the subject, rice production would have to increase by 86 percent between 1975 and the year 2000 in order to meet world demand. This represents an additional 300 million tons of paddy. Import needs of developing countries will go from 8.6 million tons to 46 million tons by the year 2000. However, it is predicted that China, which is a big exporter, will reduce the volumes it exports. Tension on markets will be so great that adequate amounts of rice will not be found and other grains will have to be imported. The price will also be high. Devoting precious foreign exchange to food imports means and will continue to mean that one will sacrifice productive investment possibilities and the country's economic and social development, which is inseparable from local production. If one does not produce locally and if one buys at the current price of \$350 a ton CIF, rice imports in the year 2000 will cost: 700,000 tons X \$350 X 380 Malagasy francs: 93 billion Malagasy francs a year.

Economically speaking, importing is not a satisfactory solution. It is desirable to produce at home.

This objective can be attained by using two strategies: increasing the area planted in rice and increasing production per area unit.

Assuming that areas newly planted in rice immediately give an average yield of 1.83 tons per hectare, the area in rice would have to be increased by 51 percent, or an additional 600,000 hectares in rice, meaning 30,000 hectares a year: one Lake Alaotra every year. Intensification therefore remains the desired solution. It is possible and has been achieved in many countries.

It is a question of increasing yield by 51 percent in 20 years, or of going from 1.83 tons per hectare to 2.76 tons per hectare, an increase in yield of less than a ton per hectare.

The production factors previously mentioned (harnessing water, seed, fertilizer and pesticides) constitute the traditional means of attaining the objective. Each of these factors contributes to increased yield. The maximum benefit will not be derived from fertilizers if irrigation is not mastered, just as the maximum benefit will not be derived from improved varieties if one does not fertilize the soil. It would serve no purpose to have good control of the water, use high-yield varieties and fertilizers if part of the crop were destroyed by insects and plant diseases.

Concerning fertilizers in improving productivity in Madagascar, it is possible to obtain an additional 4 kilograms of paddy per kilogram of fertilizer used. This productivity should improve as all techniques progress.

## Food Prospects in Madagascar: Rice

Area Planted in Rice:	1980	1,180,000 hectares
	2000	1,439,400 hectares
Paddy Production:	1980	2,160,000 tons
	2000	2,634,000 tons
Total Paddy Needs by 1980:		2,270,700 tons
(Consumption + seed) by the year 2000:		3,885,200 tons
Paddy Shortage by the Year 2000:		1,250,400 tons

It is useful to recall that Madagascar currently uses, for rice growing, 5,000 tons of fertilizer for 1 million hectares -- that is, a dosage of 5 kilograms per hectare, undoubtedly among the lowest in the world. It should be emphasized that all these modern production factors are expensive, particularly the fertilizers, but it is also true that importing the latter is much less expensive than importing rice! One must add that the amount of chemical fertilizers imported could be reduced (not eliminated) through the implementation of a plan to develop: the recycling of organic matter (the use of all waste and the recovery of plant residue and litter, including the making of compost); biological fixation of nitrogen by microorganisms; rhizobium for legumes (peanuts and soybeans); and azolla for rice.

Azolla is an aquatic plant that lives in rice paddies in symbiosis with a cyanobacterium that binds atmospheric nitrogen: *Anabaena Azollae*. It has been used by Chinese and Vietnamese farmers for centuries.

Finally, all means are good; the essential thing is to achieve one's purpose. As previously stated, fertility of the soil is not imperishable. It must be replaced if one wishes to continue to harvest crops.

The year 2000 approaches and a great challenge stands before us: feeding 16 million Malagasy. It is merely a matter of translating the Boky Mena into action: "The great powers of the year 2000 will be those countries capable of feeding their inhabitants, first of all, and of exporting food products to other nations after that."

[Photo Caption]

Guido d'Onofrio, Un expert assigned to the Malagasy Fertilizer Program which was launched with the aid of the FAO, is a man of reflection and great practical experience. After many years in the field, he is convinced that the country's well-being, with respect to food, requires a decisive and rapid commitment to modernize agriculture.

11,464

CS0: 3419/352

COMMENTS ON SOUTH AFRICAN PROPOSAL

MB061348 Maputo Radio in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 6 Jan 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] The prime minister of the South African minority regime, P. W. Botha, has declared that his administration is prepared and determined to protect its national interests but is ready to sign nonaggression pacts with any state in the region. To some this may sound like the voice of reason, the voice of someone whose only wish is that his country should be left in peace. To those who live in southern Africa, however, the message is rather different. In the first place, when P. W. Botha speaks of defending South Africa's national interests, he is not talking about a nation in sense that we and other countries in the region understand it, because for P. W. Botha South Africa is composed of several different nations. For him there are a white nation, a colored nation, an Indian nation and many black nations, all part of South Africa; and let us forget about the fiction that some are black bantoustans and independent.

So you have to ask: Which nation is it that P. W. Botha is determined to defend? Evidently it is what he sees as the white nation. And to defend this white nation from whom? Or rather to defend this concept of a white nation from whom? Who is it that wants to destroy this racist institution, the white state, and replace it with a state in which all men and women have equal rights regardless of the color of their skin? Again we know the answer. The oppressed black population, who are the overwhelming majority in South Africa. It is this oppressed black majority who are engaged in an armed struggle against the apartheid regime. The threat to the apartheid state comes from this black majority, who are deprived of all the political and social rights that are regarded as normal by the rest of the world. All military operations that have been carried out against the apartheid regime in South Africa have been carried out by South African citizens. No soldier from any of the neighboring countries has ever taken part in these operations. The South African regime on the other hand, is constantly involved in military operations against its neighbors.

If Mr Botha wants peace, therefore, he simply has to talk to the representatives of the majority of his own countrymen. Between them, he can decide on the terms of peace. But if Mr Botha wants to talk about a nonaggression pact to a neighboring state, that is a different matter. Until now all the aggression has been coming from one side, his side. To have a de facto nonaggression pact, all the apartheid regime has to do is stop its aggression and let its neighbors live in peace.

MOZAMBIQUE

DEFENSE MINISTRY ISSUES MESSAGE TO ARMED FORCES

EA022016 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0605 GMT 2 Jan 83

[Message from the Ministry of National Defense to the Popular Force for the Liberation of Mozambique]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals of the Mozambique Armed Forces, the Popular Force for the Liberation of Mozambique [FPLM]. Esteemed comrades, we are about to enter a new year, a year which, as things are, seems to be full of hopes for the implementation of our revolutionary tasks and the building of our socialist army, a firm bulwark for our defense of our country of workers and peasants.

The year 1982 is about to end. It is therefore important to make a (?precise) assessment of our achievements and successes and our shortcomings and difficulties at the level of the armed forces. We have grown. We have grown but to an unsatisfactory level. We are engaged in our main task which is to fight the armed gangs. This allows us to create conditions for securing peace in our country, the peace that is necessary to enable our people to build their brilliant future in peace.

We are currently undertaking a process of revitalizing our army. This process has been guided personally by our commander in chief, Field Marshal of the Republic Comrade Samora Moises Machel, with the aim of strengthening the organizational capability of our forces, consolidating them and developing their battle readiness. In short, it is aimed at enabling our army to wage successfully the struggle to implement the onerous tasks that the people and the party and state may assign to them.

Comrade soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals. In the year that has just ended, your organizational work was difficult. However, it is important that we should do much more so that we shall quickly be able to eliminate the extension of imperialism. By that I mean the armed gangsters who are recruited, financed, armed and commanded by the South African racist regime.

It is a fact, as Comrade President Samora Machel, our commander in chief has said, that 1983 will be the year when we shall have to use everything we have in the fight. Nineteen eighty three will be the year that we generalize and intensify

the struggle against the armed gangsters and [words indistinct] in barracks, in centers for political and military training, military education and establishments, in management and departments and different (?regions). Nineteen eighty three will be the year that we convene the fourth FRELIMO party congress, a basic phase in the history of our revolution.

The main contribution of the armed forces to our party's congress must therefore be the generalization of our actions and our operations with a view to destroying the armed bandits. Let us therefore consolidate even further our military traditions, study and production. Let us strengthen our patriotic fervor and our resolve as soldiers of the revolution by following and honoring the glorious traditions of the FPLM and of those heroes who died to liberate the fatherland.

In conclusion, we wish a happy and prosperous new year to all our soldiers, sergeants, officers and generals and their families. On behalf of the Mozambique Armed Forces, the FPLM, we reiterate the same wishes of happiness to our beloved and distinguished commander in chief, Field Marshal of the Republic Samora Moises Machel. We hope that he will continue to lead us in the same wise and exemplary manner as he has always done.

(?As always), we are sure that victory is certain. Happy new year. Long live the Mozambique Armed Forces, the FPLM. The struggle continues.

Maputo, 31 December 1982.

CSO: 3442/97

MOZAMBIQUE

RNM LEADER GIVES NEW YEAR ADDRESS

MB040622 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Africa in Portuguese to Mozambique 1700 GMT  
1 Jan 83

[New year message from Afonso Dhlakama, president of the Mozambique National Resistance and commander in chief of the Resistance Armed Forces--recorded]

[Text] Mozambican sisters and brothers, fellow countrymen, resistance fighters:  
Good evening.

Another year has ended. A new year is about to begin. Early in 1982 the Maputo Communist Government spoke of an early defeat of our forces and promised the total destruction of the forces for the liberation of the Mozambican people. In June 1982 Samora Machel himself pledged that the Marxist Leninist troops would achieve a final victory in September of the same year. Today, 1 January 1983, I am here to address you. Today it is the first day of a new year, and the glorious resistance forces continue their struggle, moving forward to final victory.

Samora Machel and the oppressive Maputo Government have been lying and are still lying, thus deceiving the Mozambican people and the entire world with false victories and empty promises. Samora Machel and his communist dictatorship are continuing their arrests and executions of Mozambicans. Repression has not ceased. It will not end. Famine and misery grow daily. The criminals who have imposed themselves by force in order to satisfy their own ambition for power have brought unhappiness and terror to our country. These criminals feel that their own defeat is near.

During 1982 we consolidated the Gaza Front and opened the Maputo Province Front in the south. In 1982 we consolidated the Sofala Front and opened the Tete Front in the central part of the country. In the same year we opened the Zambezia Front, and we are now at the doorstep of the Niassa and Nampula Provinces.

In my new year message of 1982, we promised to extend the battlefront and to inflict heavy losses on the oppressors. We have fulfilled our promises.

Machel has only deceived those who believed in him. The propaganda of the criminal and oppressive government has accused the resistance of being armed bandits in the service of the Pretoria racist government. Samora Machel and his allies--



lackeys of Soviet imperialism--have done their best to make people believe that we are manipulated by South African interests and that we fight only to serve South African racism. Machelism, together with the communist dictatorships, insist on insulting and [word indistinct] the just struggle of the Mozambican people for their freedom and independence from Soviet neocolonialism.

Today, 1 January 1983, I, Afonso Dhlakama, president and commander in chief of the Mozambique National Resistance, declare that we have never been alone or isolated in this revolutionary process for the liberation of our country. The resistance has not been merely waging armed struggle without any objectives or political leadership. The Mozambique National Resistance enjoys the support of numerous exiled Mozambicans who, in fact, form the new political force which will rule the country during the transitional period until elections are held. There are many Mozambican sons who have been studying and working abroad since the death of President Eduardo Mondlane and who have never been able to return to their country, where the Maputo Communists would arrest and execute them as they did with Utia Simango, Joana Simeao, Paulo Gumane, Father Gwengere and many others.

The Mozambique National Resistance has the support of all those who live abroad, and of several cadres in the Maputo Communist Government itself. Although they do not express their discontent publicly, they await the victory of the resistance so that they can freely identify themselves and reveal their opinions. For security reasons I cannot disclose the names of those who work for the government and who have written to us expressing their total support to our struggle for liberation.

I can, however, disclose the names of those who have visited me and who have given their total support. They have joined the resistance cadres. Mozambicans who are with us include: Dr Artur Januario da Fonseca, a lawyer who had been held in Ruarwa, from where he managed to escape; (Dr Joao Arrujabo da Costa), an economist and a former FRELIMO member who had to flee to escape execution soon after Samora Machel became leader of the party in Dar es Salaam; Dr Artur Vilanculos, a former FRELIMO member and later a Mozambican revolutionary committee representative in the United States; (Dr Luis Machiquiwa); (Jaoa Jamessone Machava), an agronomist; (Professor Joao Tomaz N'bew); Boaventure Lemane, a university student in the United States; Dr. Mario Azevedo; Eusebio Coelho, a native of Tete and a laboratory expert; (Artur Filipe Mvue), an aeronautic engineer; Alfredo Mondlane, a cousin of the late President Mondlane; (Julio Alface), a native of Niassa working as a social worker in a foreign country; (Dr Jose Nhamutamba); (Jona Felifa), an agronomist.

I could mention the names of many other Mozambicans who have visited me and who are now part of the resistance cadres. We have never been isolated. We were never an armed forces aimed at destroying the country and serving foreign interests. We have received thousands of letters from Mozambican brothers who have always been with us. We have also received other letters and messengers who brought us the support of those who are within the FRELIMO Government. The reason why I have never spoken of such support is because I have always feared and I still fear what might happen to the families of these militants.

If today I reveal the names of members of these political cadres it is because during our last meeting everybody agreed that Machel had gone too far in his propaganda of calumnies against the resistance and that the time to unmask the Maputo government had come.

Priscila Gumane is with us. Antonio Maforte is with us. Ernesto Tembo is with us. (Jose Marangwe) is with us. Jose Pande is with us. (Anibal Xilezi) is with us. (Joao Mecampa) is with us. (Alfredo Mousse) is with us. Zeca Muchanga is with us. (Ernesto Zulule) is with us. (Abdul Oman) is with us. I have only mentioned a few of the names of those who are with the resistance. They are Mozambicans who study and work in universities as lecturers, in laboratories and in factories, where they acquire the experience which is necessary for the progress and well-being of our country.

The resistance is not only the armed struggle. It has a political leadership which has undertaken to form a government of national concord.

No black man can accept apartheid. No African can ally himself with racism, since it would be a betrayal to his own status as a human being. It is not the South African Government which leads us and gives us orders. The resistance has its own political hierarchy, which defines and leads the political and military struggle against the communist government of Samora Machel. Such a hierarchy is formed by Mozambicans who, now as in the past, have shown their profound nationalism and their independence from the interests of any imperialism. Our struggle against the FRELIMO oppressive troops is being waged by Mozambicans alone. It is being waged by the people who want to get rid of an inhuman system that is contrary to the traditions and culture of the African people.

Samora Machel has been getting the support of Tanzanians, Zimbabweans and now of Zambians, apart from the military advisers of Europe's communist countries. We have been trying to avoid the internationalization of the conflict. FRELIMO, however being desperate in view of its impending defeat, has recruited foreign troops to defend its regime. This is positive proof that FRELIMO does not enjoy the support of the Mozambican people. No government that has the support of the people needs foreign troops to defend itself. In view of this fact, which clearly indicates foreign intervention designed to impose upon the Mozambican people a government which they do not accept, the political leadership of the resistance will have to consider the consequences of this aggression by the allies of FRELIMO and request foreign aid to defend the independence and freedom of our people whenever it is opportune.

Robert Mugabe excuses himself by saying that he is forced to defend the communication routes to Beira harbor. The Zambian Government, however, has never sent troops into Angola to protect the railway line to Lobito Harbor, which is vital to Zambian interests.

What is the reason for Julius Nyerere to send 8,000 soldiers into Mozambique? The Tanzanian Government is well known for its military adventures designed to control the neighboring states. Zanzibar was the first victim. Then came

Uganda. Recently, the Tanzanian Government was involved in an attempted coup d'etat in Kenya. In Mozambique, Julius Nyerere wants to keep his servant in power. Julius Nyerere has always eagerly desired to become the chief of an east African federation, and Mozambique is part of his ambitious plans. The Tanzanian people would then see their standard of living improved at the expense of the exploitation of their neighboring states. Despite this foreign aggression, the Mozambican people under the leadership of the resistance remain firm in their determination to be free and independent.

In the year that has just ended, FRELIMO propaganda tried to create the impression that certain conditions had been created with the aim of improving the situation in the country. The relationship with the Portuguese Government, the new relations with the churches, the release of former members of the special group of PIDE [Police for the Control of Foreigners and Defense of the State] and other members of colonial organizations, have been described by the Maputo Communist Government as important changes within the system. That such a farce has come about only after the people had rebelled is only too evident. Nobody has yet forgotten that it was Samora Machel who said that religion serves to deceive the people. It is only since the revolt of the Mozambican people that Samora Machel changed his attitude and that he is now ready to come to an agreement with the churches. These changes are victories for the resistance, and they can only be safeguarded with the total defeat of FRELIMO. The Mozambican people reject such favors from FRELIMO. The Mozambican people demand respect for their rights, and if the Maputo Communist Government has not respected these rights from the very beginning, then it will not respect them once it feels safe in power.

Every communist government, as is the one in Maputo, as a matter of course is the sole master of its citizens' lives.

The politics of moderation is only a temporary tactic. If we do not fight for our rights, FRELIMO will continue to murder people without trial in the forests, as they have done with Joana Simeao, Uria Simango, Paulo Gumane, Father Mateus Gwengere and many others. It is necessary for us to be deceived by FRELIMO propaganda after we have experienced the abuses, barbarities and crimes that have been committed and continue to be committed. The struggle continues, and it will continue until the defeat of the oppressive Maputo Government. We struggle from Rovuma to Maputo against FRELIMO and its allies. The Mozambican people are more aware than ever of their strength and the strength of their rights.

In 1983 we will step up our offensive by opening new fronts. Our political and diplomatic offensive has already started. Our final victory is near.

In 1984 we will not be ruled by a thief who stole a bag of sugar in Komgwa and who is manipulated by agents recruited by Soviet imperialism, as is the case of Marcelino dos Santos, Oscar Monteiro, Jorge Rebelo and Sergio Vieira. In 1984 we will have a government of Mozambicans, for Mozambicans and for Mozambique. This is the reason of our struggle, and because we trust the Mozambican people we are certain of our victory.

Mozambican sisters and brothers, good night.

## MOZAMBIQUE

### BRIEFS

ETHIOPIAN TIES--The Central Committee of the FRELIMO party has expressed its desire to strengthen and broaden relations with the party of the working people of Ethiopia in the common struggle against imperialism, apartheid and Zionism. This is contained in a message sent to the Central Committee of the commission to organize the party of the working people of Ethiopia on its second congress. In its message the FRELIMO party recalls the recent courtesy visit made by Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam, to Mozambique as yet another occasion during which friendship and solidarity relations between the two parties, peoples and states were strengthened. The message also expresses the confidence that the congress will stimulate the activity of the militants and the participation of the Ethiopian workers in defending and strengthening the revolutionary conquests that have been achieved in the course of building of a socialist society. [Text] [MB041220 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1030 GMT 4 Jan 83]

CSO: 3442/97

## REUNION

### LEFTIST VICTORY IN PROPORTIONAL ASSEMBLY VOTE DISCUSSED

Saint Denis TEMOIGNAGES 24 Nov 82 p 2

/Editorial: "A New Illustration of the Solidarity in the Struggle Between the Forces of Progress in France and Reunion"

/Text/ We know that the program of the president of the republic included 110 proposals to be realized in 7 years. Among the 110 proposals approved by the French, there is point 58, which sets up in overseas departments a single assembly elected by proportional representation. The application of this point 58 at the beginning of the 7 year period can only delight the people of Reunion.

The law was definitely passed yesterday and the real change will begin here as in the mother country. It is true it is going to begin 2 years late, but it is also true the Right is going to be beaten in the single assembly as well as in the municipal elections. At that moment then, the real change will finally be able to begin in Reunion.

This event will mark the history of Reunion. It is a new illustration of the solidarity in the struggle between the forces of progress in France and Reunion. Many important dates indicate this solidarity in our common history.

It was the first abolition of slavery in 1792 after the great French Revolution. The decree of the Convention was not applied here and slavery was maintained, as it was reestablished in the West Indies by Napoleonic reaction. It was necessary to wait for the Revolution of 1848, the petition of the workers of Faubourg Saint Antoine and the Parisian abolitionist intellectuals for a decree to be issued on 27 April 1848, abolishing slavery in the French colonies. This decree was applied in Reunion on 20 December 1848.

It was then with the Popular Front in 1936 that the demand for social legislation took place on a massive scale under the

pressure of the first democratic organizations with Dr Raymond Verges and Leon de Lerpervanche.

But it will be necessary to wait for this law of 19 March 1946 and the Left in power, to see the application of social legislation and the demand for equality with all citizens of the republic.

It is known what the Right did with them in 1950-60. While an advance of the democratic movement in Reunion corresponded to each victory of the Left in France, every time the Right governed we witnessed a period of social regression, repression and suppression of freedoms in Reunion.

It is a new victory of the Left in France and the popular struggles in Reunion which can still today encourage new democratic advances. Facing the hypocritical talk of the Right (about its "attachment to the mother country"), it is this solidarity in the struggle which will forge the strongest bonds between the people of France and the people of Reunion. There is why the final passage of the law on the single assembly elected by proportional representation is a historic date.

But the failure to enforce the first decree of the Convention about the abolition of slavery shows that if there is not a struggle of the people of Reunion on the spot, all the laws and decrees are meaningless. It is useless for them to pass laws in Paris, if the people of Reunion themselves do not act to free themselves.

That is why since 1959, the Reunion Communist Party has declared that there will never be again a Sarda Garriga. The change in Reunion can only come through the people of Reunion themselves, in their struggle against the forces of the Right in the country.

Whatever the harshness of the situation may have been during the period of slavery and indentured workers, whatever may have been the difficulties for the workers and the planters and the misery before the war, our country has never known such an oppressive balance and prospects as discouraging as today. The Right leaves Reunion 53,000 unemployed, with 70,000 young people in prospect on the employment market in the 6 years to come, 41,000 hovels in shanty towns (one-third of the housing), 100 thousand illiterates and finally tens of thousands of Reunion emigres in France.

But the difference today is that for the first time on the eve of great changes, the democratic forces are organized, they have a development plan and prospects for the future. The Reunion people, with their democratic organization, are going to soon write a new page in history for progress, justice and cultural expansion.

FUSION OF TWO RIGHTIST SPLINTER PARTIES NOT EXCLUDED

Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans 21 Nov 82 p 4

[Columnist Willem de Klerk Interviews Leaders of Rightwing Nationalist Splinter Group Parties]

[Text] The road to coalition between the Conservative Party and the Reunited Nationalist Party is very definitely not on the agenda.

There is still no unanimity on many matters and Dr Andries Treurnicht is outspoken about maintaining the identity of his own Conservative Party.

In interviews with both leaders, it appears that their answers to questions on basic matters are the same and that there is very little difference of principles in the two policy trends.

However, the Reunited Nationalist Party of Jaap Marais hopes to gain 70 to 80 seats in a political pact if the Conservative Party collaborates with it.

In the course of the detailed questions I posed to Dr A. P. Treurnicht and to Mr Jaap Marais, these and additional facts came to light, also that the Conservative Party (according to Jaap Marais) is trying to force an interim election, although the Conservative Party leader shrugged off this question as speculation.

Thoughts about a confederation between the republic and the black states are rejected by both parties and moreover both parties reject a compromise for South-West Africa.

It is necessary to consider the basic policy trends of all political parties very calmly, because South Africa has moved into the homestretch of decision making where there is no longer any talk of turning back.

Stripped of electioneering propaganda Dr Treurnicht and Mr Marais were given an opportunity of providing their own replies to the same questions posed to them. (My comments appear on page 20).

[Question] What is your reaction and definite policy view about the following timely matters: Economic collaboration with black countries as discussed during this past summit deliberations of 11 November in Pretoria?

Treurnicht: Economic collaboration is necessary and of mutual interest, provided our own economic stability and growth enjoy priority as far as we are concerned.

Marais: As already announced, 80 percent of the proposed bank's capital of 2 billion rand would have to be provided by South Africa. Therefore, this is rather a case of financial help to black states than a case of collaboration. The lesson learned from such help to African nations is that they end up getting into deeper debts, they bring about little development and give the impression that this kind of help is owed to them. What is preferable is helping these countries on the basis of performance and counterperformance, generating job-intensive projects for these nations, giving financial encouragement to black entrepreneurs in white areas to move into their respective black states and, as a means of combating poverty, having black leaders persuade their people to reduce the present high birthrates.

Question Are you in favor of a confederation of states in southern Africa?

Treurnicht: A confederation is not a necessity. Interstate relations on a multilateral basis need not have any set structures which tend to develop into an all-inclusive commonwealth or federation. A confederation does not have any historic precedents.

Marais: Confederation is a point of departure for a federation and, as Dr Willie Breytenbach of the prime minister's office stated, it is a method of joining together what is being kept separate by apartheid. Things such as foreign affairs, finances, defense, etc., end up being entrusted to a central authority in a confederation and this soon leads to a confederal bureaucracy which ends up grabbing more and more power. The sovereignty of states is eaten up and borderlines fade away.

Relations between South Africa and black states must be regulated through mutual agreements without a fixed political structure which could become a sort of mini United Nations.

Question What is your alternative for the Nationalist Party's ideas of consociation with the coloreds and Indians?

Treurnicht: Consociation has not been acceptable, not even for the Nationalist Party itself, and we do not accept it either. We stand for complete political self-determination, no sharing of power or multiracial government, but our own government over our own people and within our own jurisdiction. Power-sharing leads to the loss of power.

Marais: The coloreds are a nation having as a nucleus the Cape Coloreds, in like manner that the Afrikaners form the nucleus of the white people. The identity of the coloreds must be recognized and their political development must be coupled to a territorial area. Parliamentary democracy does not have sufficient tolerance for deep-rooted racial differences such as those between whites and coloreds. By race, language, religion and traditions Indians are bound to a mother country which, as their advocate, is taking



actions against South Africa in international politics. This is a different matter from the white language groups in South Africa who, though bound to various mother countries, identify themselves as whites with other whites; Indians do not have any other nonwhite races or national groups in South Africa with whom they can identify themselves. Thus to involve them in a single national government structure with the whites and the coloreds would be to promote the worst of political instability.

The Indians ought to have self-rule in their own group areas, but they should not have a territory where they could develop a political self-determination like the coloreds, where they could get representation in the United Nations. along with India and then throw open their borders to a large immigration from India.

[Question] What is your alternative and what are your comments on the Nationalist Party's policy of abandoning discrimination?

Treurnicht: The liberalistic obsession of abandoning discrimination is forcing integration and is gradually destroying the right of a people to have their own rights and privileges within their own areas. This imposes a kind of equalization in which there can no longer be any talk of the rights of a certain community. The alternative is giving preference to a certain community within its own jurisdiction. This is healthy discrimination.

Marais: Back in 1960, the former Progressive Party had labeled the phrase "abandonment of discrimination" as that part of their policy which struck a gap between them and the Nationalist Party. Because of the nature of the contents of this phrase, acceptance of this political terminology of the Progressive Federal Party by the Nationalist Party leads one to also assume the giving up of the policy of separate development, as is becoming apparent by the increasing racial mixing now going on in many respects.

The Reunited Nationalist Party rejects the Nationalist Party's and the Progressive Federal Party's ideas of abandoning discrimination, because the gesture implied by this is in direct conflict with the idea of separate development.

As Dr Verwoerd explained it, discrimination must be eliminated by the establishment of a sufficient amount of separation and not by equalization in a racially mixed society.

[Question] What are your alternative and comments and also your policy with respect to the sharing of facilities?

Treurnicht: The same answer I gave you with respect to discrimination also applies here.

Marais: Shared facilities represent an outcome of the abandonment of discrimination. Separate facilities are necessary for emphasizing the awareness of separate identity and the will for a strong maintenance of this separate identity. As the non-white groups develop the requirements and

demonstrate a willingness to pay for cultural facilities such as theaters, then the whites will be able to make financial contributions to that end. However, the idea that the whites have the obligation of sharing their facilities if the nonwhites do not have equal ones, is wrong.

Question What are your views with regard to the policy on South-West Africa?

Treurnicht: The government's policy with respect to the republic and South-West Africa is contradictory. Up until February of this year, the republic rejected a federation or a unitary state for the various peoples there; however, this type of thing is being advocated in South-West Africa in such a manner that the chance for self-determination for the whites disappears into oblivion. The Conservative Party will support measures aimed at self-determination for the various ethnic groups on a regional basis and therefore this also applies to the whites.

Marais: On 16 October 1966 RAPPORT's predecessor, the Sunday DIE BEELD, stated that in the event that the United Nations insisted on taking South-West Africa away from us "then we would fight back with everything we have. It is our land and our life that these people want to grab." This is how that front-page article read. This is the correct viewpoint held by the Reunited Nationalist Party. South-West Africa shares South Africa's sovereignty. That is why South Africa's flag waves over Windhoek and that is why South Africa's forces are fighting in South-West Africa.

The terrorists' onslaught against South-West Africa, led by communism, is calculated to rip open South Africa's western flank for the greater military attack on South Africa itself. Therefore negotiations with SWAPO through the intermediary of the United Nations and the idea of a one-man, one-vote election, in accordance with UN Resolution 435, must be dropped. By withholding any help to countries housing terrorists, closing its borders and destroying terrorist bases, South Africa must restore peace in southern Africa and allow South-West Africa to develop in accordance with the policy of the Nationalist Party before the above-mentioned view was abandoned.

Question What are the chances that your policy positions will be accepted by South Africa's whites, the other population groups and the Western powers?

Treurnicht: White voters have repeatedly accepted separate development, white government over the whites and self-government for the other peoples and they have rejected power-sharing and multiracial government. If they are not brainwashed by the ostentatious indoctrination by the press, radio and TV...the tools of the Nationalist Party, they will still choose separate freedoms over multiracial government.

Our viewpoint is correct in principle; it is just; it is the guarantee for every people's own freedom and it offers an ideal for which everybody can work with zeal, for the objective of forestalling domination or a disastrous struggle for power.

We must do whatever is just and reasonable. Our norm is not based on the demands of Western liberalism or of those so-called friends who demand our political abdication under the flag of "sympathy." The coming into independence of four black states, moreover, has not yet been accepted or recognized by any of the Western nations, Yet we have certainly done that despite Western disparagement.

Marais: The growth of the Reunited Nationalist Party in extremely difficult circumstances and the split which took place in the Nationalist Party this year represent confirmation of the growing realization among white voters that the Reunited Nationalist Party was right from the start. No policy, not even that of the Progressive Federal Party, is acceptable to most non-whites. Every party which aims at its policy will have to yield until the political power of the whites is broken. Western powers want a black majority government in South Africa as Dr Henry Kissinger and others have already repeatedly stated, and as Britain and the United States have demonstrated in the case of South-West Africa. The test is not whether a certain policy will appease the opponents, but whether it is fundamentally accountable, historically correct, politically sensible and in the nation's interest with an eye to the future.

Question Can your policy be carried out in the framework of South Africa's realities?

Treurnicht: Yes; but then you are not to put this question to integrationists, unimaginable people, power sharers and proponents of multiracial government. You must ask this question of people who realize that for full self-determination there is no choice other than having one's own government over one's own people and one's own jurisdiction.

Marais: Yes, separate development was about to succeed at the time that Dr Verwoerd was conducting it with a purpose. The greatest reality in South Africa is the existence of profound racial differences and historical facts which must not be undervalued. Knowing this, we derived the principles which our nation has followed from the start, the principles of development and order for all of South Africa.

Question Is your concept of separate development such that you would, for example, approve of the case of the school principal who had to write examinations in the kitchen, apart from the whites?

Treurnicht: If the University of South Africa were to stop exercising the enforcement of having everybody write examination in one room then you could easily have members of various communities write them in various appropriate rooms (without having to use a kitchen) without friction and without offending anybody.

Marais: There can always be cases of exceptions treated as exceptions to the rule, but this must remain the exception to the rule, but the exception must not become the rule.

Question What is your reaction to the accusation that your party is racist?

Treurnicht: Our party is not racist, however, we are not blind to racial and people differences in our country. The label of "racist" is being used much too profusely by the liberalist equalitarians who do not realize that enforced integration of different peoples is tyranny. The lack of racial and national awareness in South Africa is a case of being naively blind to the reality of things.

Marais: Every nationalism has a racial basis, because each people's racial identity is the most determining and permanent characteristic. Since nationalism is the right of preference for one's own, this of course includes also one's own race. Therefore the Afrikaner people's boundaries are not closed to other white peoples, but rather to peoples of different races.

The Reunited Nationalist Party is no less and no more "racist" than the Nationalist Party under Dr Malan. Attorney Strydom and Dr Verwoerd and also no less or more racist than the previous states which our people established. We reject the word "racist" as presently interpreted, because it is a leftist political term being employed for promoting racial equality by promoting a feeling of guilt among whites about their style of life and history.

At the same time those who are pushing racism are failing to put the label of "racism" on any of the policies of the blacks and black racism is being placed above criticisms under the banner of black theology and black nationalism, thus demonstrating selective propaganda usage and political motives.

Question After a calm consideration of the past interim elections, how many seats do you think your party can win on its own? How many seats could you win by collaborating with each other?

Treurnicht: I would rather not make any conjectures on this; but at any rate we are striving to take over the government for the whites.

Marais: This will be greatly dependent on the time and the circumstances in which a general election is held. In Transvaal, we have several seats within our reach.

Together with the Conservative Party we have 70 or 80 seats within our reach.

Question Are the talks between you attuned to collaboration or a fusing of the two parties?

Treurnicht: The talks now in progress are aimed at the elimination of unnecessary division among the conservative voting power.

Marais: We are for collaboration.

Question Are you going to attempt to force an interim election?

Treurnicht: This is a matter of individual conjecture.

Marais: This is an objective of the Conservative Party, but our two parties have not yet discussed it.

Question Will the greater majority of the members of your parties support such a collaboration?

Treurnicht: As I see it the greater majority will support collaboration, but want to preserve party identity.

Marais: A fusion will not be considered until there is successful collaboration and greater unanimity; then it will probably be supported by the greater majority.

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SOUTH AFRICA

EDITORIAL APPLAUDS P.W. BOTHA, HENDRICKSE

MB060939 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Jan 83 p 10

[Editorial: "A Welcome Boost for Negotiation"]

[Text] The prime minister split Afrikanerdom in moving his ruling party away from blatant white domination. The leader of the Labour Party may have split the coloured community in reaching out to meet him. Whatever the merits or the motives of each leader's action, they can only be admired for their bravery in stepping out of their comfortable niches to seek new solutions.

The parties led by the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr P.W. Botha are further apart, even now, than the NP [National Party] and Conservative Party, or the NP and the PFP [Progressive Federal Party]...yet if South Africa is to move ahead with a minimum of bloodshed, it is the major white party and the major coloured party which will have to work together in the initial exploratory process.

On the surface their differences look unbridgeable. The government's proposals can be read, as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has read them, as a new form of separate development with built-in dominance for the NP. The Labour Party is committed to one man, one vote. However, it is prepared to negotiate on the basis of a federal structure. No doubt the NP will also be prepared to negotiate...the alternative is total failure.

This in itself is something that should be welcomed by all who seek non-violent solutions to the nation's problems. It is a great pity that the government did not show as much foresight in handling the leader of the biggest black political movement in southern Africa, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The leader of Inkatha went to great pains to formulate, using much inter-racial expertise, a proposal for multiracial government within a federal structure. The plan was acceptable to many whites in Natal who were prepared to live under black government for the sake of peace--and prosperity. Yet the government not only rejected the plan outright, it did so with an arrogance that has rendered one more moderate and his giant party justifiably bitter. Mr Botha, if he is to take the country forward any meaningful distance, has his own bridges to mend as well as new bridges to build.

Nonetheless, the fact that the main political voice of the coloured people has spoken out in favour of negotiation rather than flat rejection of the government's model should be seen as good news for everyone, whatever side of the fence he sits on. Yesterday's stand by the Labour Party may even prove to be a historical turning point for South Africa. It will be if it helps woo the NP away from what Chief Buthelezi correctly describes as a history of discrimination in which human rights have been forgotten; rule of law buried, and people pushed about with total insensitivity.

CSO: 3400/559

JOHANNESBURG PAPER ON 'IRONIES' OF LABOR-GOVERNMENT DEAL

MB080831 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 7 Jan 83 p 12

[Editorial: "When Moderates Fight Each Other"]

[Text] Ironies abound in the deal which the Labour Party has struck with the government over its constitutional reforms. In one sense the coloured community is getting less than it had in the 1950's, when a National Party government went to distasteful lengths to take away the rights they had enjoyed in the Cape since union. That coloured franchise was of limited value, but at least it was on a common voters' roll together with whites. What they are getting now is perhaps a deputy minister or two, some sort of power-sharing on inter-racial parliamentary committees, but a parliament which is a strictly coloured affair. Thus does the electoral apartheid of 30 years ago still dominate the thinking even of today's reform-minded nationalists.

Another irony lies in the attacks to which the labour leadership is now being subjected for working "within the system." The criticism comes notably from certain ex-colleagues in the party, who themselves have tried to work from within the old coloured representative council, and from Chief Buthelezi, who is himself regularly castigated for working within the homelands system. Thus does an ever-polarising system create new antagonisms and make even moderates sound like extremists.

In courting such disfavour the Rev Hendrickse and his colleagues are taking a calculated risk, one which could rebound on them in the loss of even more of their waning support. The one person who can help him out of this difficulty is the prime minister. Mr Botha, who owes labour a huge debt for rescuing his reform initiative, must now show that the step will bring to the community real powers and real benefits. Can credible coloured leaders be associated, for instance, with a government that still enforces the group areas act and the mixed marriages act? By moving rapidly in areas such as these, Mr Botha can help restore labour's popular support, make the party's leaders look more authentic and the whole reform initiative look less dubious.

Nor should anyone forget the specific reservations with which the Labour Party embarked on its risky course. It spelt out that it still believed



in a one-man one-vote franchise in a (negotiable) unitary system. And that the National Party's reform plans were inadequate in that they excluded the African majority of the population and they entrench ethnicity. The labourites are going in to negotiate a better set of constitution plans than those presently on offer. Mr Botha would be wise to indicate at an early stage that his mind is not closed on this score.

CSO: 3400/563

SOUTH AFRICA

HENDRICKSE CLAIMS 70 PERCENT COLORED BACKING

MB080703 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] The leader of the Labour Party, Rev Allan Hendrickse, says he has the backing of at least 70 percent of coloreds in his party's decision to participate in the new constitutional dispensation.

He said in a South African Broadcasting Corporation interview that the Labor Party would take part in the new setup not only in the interests of the coloreds but also in the interests of groups not included in the dispensation. He said that the decision to that effect taken by the congress of the Labor Party at Eshowe earlier this week was the result of open hearted negotiations with the government, during which a healthy climate was created for continued cooperation and negotiations. A new relationship with the coloreds had been established, particularly due to the leadership of the prime minister, Mr P.W. Botha. Reverend Hendrickse said the decision of his party gave the coloreds greater hope for the future.

The former deputy leader of the Labor Party, Mr Norman Middleton, has denied that he is behind moves to form a new political movement to oppose the party's participation in the government's constitutional dispensation. He was commenting on reports that breakaway members of the Labor Party would be convening a meeting later this month with other groups in the colored community opposed to the constitutional plans of the government.

CSO: 3400/563

SOUTH AFRICA

HEUNIS SAYS NO DATE YET FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

MB080642 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 8 Jan 83

[Text] The minister of constitutional development, Mr Heunis, says that at this stage it is almost impossible to say when the new constitutional dispensation for South Africa will be put into effect. He said in Cape Town that the first step was to hold talks with the leaders of the various population groups on the details of the new constitution. After that, draft legislation would be introduced in Parliament and referred to the committee on constitutional affairs. After the committee had wound up its work the bill would be reintroduced in Parliament for final approval.

If that could be done this year negotiations could begin with various parties on matters such as the election of members of the various chambers, and the delimitation of constituencies.

Referring to the attitude of the Labor Party, that it would work within the new constitutional framework for black interests, Mr Heunis pointed out that certain people had advocated a so-called fourth chamber in Parliament for blacks. He said that presupposed that all blacks would be content to sit in one chamber, which would amount to a recognition of the multinational principle. In accordance with that principle, there would strictly speaking have to be, a thirteen-chamber parliament, which would be impractical, he said.

CSO: 3400/563

JOHANNESBURG PAPER ON POSSIBILITIES FOR LABOR'S POSITION

MB090833 Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 9 Jan 83 p 16

[Editorial: "An Instrument of Power: Use It"]

[Text] A period of political confusion, even turbulence, may be expected in the wake of the Labour Party's decision this week to accept Mr P.W. Botha's offer of a place in Parliament.

The qualifications surrounding that offer are well known. The coloured people will occupy a separate chamber allotted to them on the sole grounds of their race. The arrangement is therefore obscene, redeemed only by the fact that it gives the coloured community an instrument of power which they do now possess. It will therefore put them into a stronger position for the next stage of the game, which is to achieve the further reform of the constitution.

The possibilities of their new position have been widely underrated. Imagine, if you will, the nationalists in a joint committee, trying to negotiate with coloured and Indian leaders while a couple of white opposition members barrack from the sidelines. Both the Turnhalle talks and the President's Council have shown that few people can remain altogether immune to the moral pressure which is brought to bear in such face-to-face meetings.

Of course, the system is rigged to give the nationalists an automatic majority over their combined opposition, but they would have to be extraordinarily tough-minded to avoid making any concessions at all. Anyway, if they were so unbendingly obdurate, the system would collapse.

The only real danger would arise if the coloured leaders suddenly forgot their bitter experience at the hands of the whites, forgot that they were themselves black and helped to sustain a new brand of racism in perpetuity. The notion is bizarre, but the remedy in any event lies to hand: it is for the coloured community to elect its most principled, strongest, most intelligent, and most enlightened leaders to carry the banner of democracy for all the people of this country.

Indeed, the more radical and "extreme" the coloured leader, the more he is needed in parliament. We can think of nothing more salutary for the coloured

community and for the country than to elect the Rev Allan Boesak to the new assembly, and with him Mr Norman Middleton and Dr Jakes Gerwel. We can think of nothing more useful at this stage than that such men should combine into a party in order to challenge the Rev Allan Hendrickse and his men for the chance to occupy the new platform offered to them.

If it does nothing else, the prospect of such a party's winning the election will prompt the government to sustain the Labour Party however it can, and will thus strengthen the Labour Party's bargaining position. And if therefore the present turbulence leads to the creation of a new coloured political party, and to more or less normal political contest within the coloured community, we can only applaud.

CSO: 3400/563

EDITORIAL ON LABOR PARTY DECISION

MB060907 Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 6 Jan 83 p 8

[Editorial: "Labour's Favour"]

[Text] Mr P.W. Botha must be mopping his brow in relief. By favour of the Labour Party, his constitutional plan is still alive and on course. Faced by an agonising dilemma--essentially, whether to participate in a fundamentally flawed scheme or to accept probable extinction--the party has decided to go along with the prime minister. It would have been gravely embarrassing for Mr Botha had the decision gone the other way.

Not, of course, that it is anything like an unqualified acceptance. Only too clearly the Labour Party is unhappy and uncertain, anxious not to lose what seems to it to be the chance of getting inside the ring of power politics but fearful of the consequences. That it still went ahead despite the unambiguous warning delivered by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is testimony to its courage--or foolhardiness. It remains to be seen what fallout might ensue, with negative effects not only on the Labour Party's relations with Inkatha but on race relations in general.

Now that the Labour Party is prepared to give the constitutional plan a try, a fresh responsibility rests on Mr Botha. He has to give the party demonstrable proof that it is correct in its decision. He has to do that by showing that coloureds will indeed benefit substantially and speedily from the new dispensation; that the nationalists are truly determined to get away from their traditional ugly racial practices; and that it does not matter that blacks are excluded.

Can Mr Botha deliver on any of this? It seems unlikely in the extreme. He is caught in his own racial trap. It is not even certain that he would want to deliver any great deal more than the limited amount of change that he is already offering. So what honeymoon period between the Labour Party and the government that now lies ahead could be short and disintegrate into acrimony.

There is another factor. The last election held among coloureds was in 1975, for the then coloured persons representative council. Only 25 percent of eligible voters participated. The Labour Party won the majority but

obviously represented only a restricted proportion of coloureds. The council died in 1980 and it can be said that the party's popularity has waned since then.

Instead, in a process which could be highly significant for South Africa, it is believed that coloureds are no longer bothering with formal political organisation but express themselves through grassroots community activities. It is said that coloured anger, in response to the way they have been booted around, has reached such a pitch that many, if not most, people simply will not bother to speak to the government, at least about anything which falls short of the goal of a fully shared and nonracial society.

If this is anywhere near correct then there is even less comfort for Mr Botha in the Labour Party's decision.

CSO: 3400/559

EDITORIAL ON LABOR PARTY'S 'ACT OF COURAGE'

MB090945 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 9 Jan 83 p 12

[Editorial: "This Moderation Must Be Rewarded"]

[Text] Practical politics, so often and openly condemned by ideologues of the right and left, have one great advantage over the politics of protest: You can stop dreaming on the sidelines and actually get on with the job.

This, coupled with the frustration bred of years in the wilderness, was probably the overriding reason why the Rev Alan Hendrickse and his Labour Party followers decided this week to give the government's constitutional guidelines the benefit of their not inconsiderable doubts.

It was an act of courage equal to, if not surpassing, the courage which Messrs Botha and Heunis and Co showed last year in a standing firm against their own troglodytes of the right.

And it seems certain to yield a similar result--with rejectionists within the coloured community effectively making common cause with Dr Andries Treurnicht in trying to erect a roadblock on the rocky path of reform.

With one significant difference: What Dr Treurnicht fears, and the rejectionists of the left apparently do not even know, is that any journey, no matter how long, has to start with the first, tentative step.

They can argue, as Chief Buthelezi did this week, that the fundamental flaw in the government's constitutional plans--the exclusion of the vast majority of this country's citizens--is a sure-fire recipe for conflict rather than harmony.

But in allowing their desire for the best to drive out whatever good the new dispensation holds--and a multiracial parliament with a promise of power-sharing, however clumsy and contrived, has to be better than unvarnished white domination--they themselves are pleading for a perpetuation of the present situation and upping the ante on eventual conflict.



That said, it must be added that what happened in Eshowe this week was only a first step. The delight Mr Botha and Mr Heunis must feel over the Labour Party's decision to come in from the cold and give some credibility to a multi-racial parliament must be qualified by the knowledge that it is now up to the government to make that decision worthwhile.

Mr Hendrickse and his supporters have not given the government a blank cheque. What they have done is invest a great deal of their own credibility in the hope that they can at last exploit the system (like Chief Buthelezi himself?) to negotiate a better deal.

This means that they must be able to use their presence in parliament to achieve meaningful advances in coloured housing and education, to put the hated group areas act on the agenda and know that their views will not be dismissed out of hand and, finally, to use their bargaining position to persuade Mr Botha that true reform must offer political participation to all this country's citizens.

The tentative flowering of constructive politics has brought a gleam of hope to the first days of 1983. But moderation must be rewarded with some solid gains if that hope is to survive and flourish.

CSO: 3400/563

## SOUTH AFRICA

### VILJOEN DEMANDS ZIMBABWE RETURN RSA SOLDIER

AB070740 Paris AFP in English 0728 GMT 7 Jan 83

[Excerpt] Pretoria, Jan 7 (AFP)--South Africa's army commander, Gen Constand Viljoen, warned neighboring Zimbabwe Thursday that it risked "further confrontation" with South Africa if it did not hand back at once a black South African soldier who Zimbabwe says has fled across the border.

Landlocked Zimbabwe has just begun talks with Pretoria to obtain vital fuel supplies which have been cut off by persistent sabotage of the pipeline running from the Port of Beira through Mozambique to the Zimbabwean border. The sabotage has been carried out by South African-backed rebels against the Mozambican government.

South Africa wants to negotiate at ministerial level, thus scoring a diplomatic coup by obtaining de facto recognition from the Harare government which broke diplomatic relations with Pretoria at independence in 1980. The Zimbabweans have so far rejected this request.

General Viljoen, whose warning has been seen by observers as a hint that there might be no oil deal, said South Africa did not believe the soldier, Corporal Stephen Mutasa, had refused to return to South Africa when he was freed last Monday by Zimbabwean authorities after being held for nearly three weeks. Mr Mutasa was picked up by a Zimbabwean patrol near the South African border town of Messina on December 13.

General Viljoen said the corporal, whose wife and children are already in Zimbabwe, had to return to South Africa, where he would be free to resign from the army. He said it was strange that Mr Mutasa had made a public confession. He added: "A well-known technique of forcing confessions out of people in custody is to offer them privileges for themselves or their families in exchange."

The Beira pipeline was sabotaged again by rebels Wednesday, but the damage was soon repaired. Pumping, halted since sabotage of a depot in Beira on December 9, is expected to resume in a few days.

CSO: 3400/559

## SOUTH AFRICA

### COMMENTARY ON LABOR PARTY VOTE, ROLE OF BLACKS

MB050959 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 5 Jan 83

[Station Commentary: "Black Political Participation"]

[Text] Developments at Eshowe have brought the constitutional situation of South Africa's black peoples sharply into focus. Speakers at the colored Labour Party Congress and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu have questioned the exclusion of blacks from the constitutional system that is proposed for the white, colored and Asian communities. Strong language was used. Disregarding that, the issue raised is still the most fundamental one in South African politics: How is democracy to be advanced in this country of widely diverse ethnic and racial communities?

Full participation in political decisionmaking is the universally declared goal for all. Within that consensus there is also general acceptance of the right of communities to freedom from domination by others. Those ideals of group self-determination in a democratic dispensation are non-negotiable. They are the prerequisites for a just and stable political order.

The complexity of the situation is virtually unique. Indeed, a foremost authority on constitutional systems in disparate communities, Prof Arend Luipaard, has noted: In the extreme cases of plural societies, such as South Africa, the outlook for democracy of any kind is poor. According to one study conducted over a period of 8 years, ethnic, tribal and racial differences within states accounted for over 90 percent of all the world's violent conflicts that had involved governments.

Averting endemic conflict while advancing toward the ideal is the daunting challenge facing this country. The response to it will necessarily be as complex and multifaceted as the society itself. Part of it lay in recognizing the existence of the black nations that have a primary allegiance to their own people, language, culture and political aspirations. Today's black nation states--of which four are by now completely independent--are as insistent on their right to be free of outside domination, whether by white or by black, as any of the other minority groups.

At the same time the response requires that the economic interdependence of all South Africa's peoples must be recognized. The nations have not only nonnegotiable separate, but also vital common, interests, and a confederation is taking shape to accommodate those. Many details remain to be settled in the negotiating process. The position of the urban black communities; ways of accelerating economic progress in the black states; and some form of common confederal citizenship. But the overall program is clear and far advanced. In all this time, however, no adequate provision had been made for two other important minority communities: the coloreds and Asians. Neither had a homeland or even a separate sense of nationality. Both were historically and socioeconomically indisputably pieces of the internal constitutional jigsaw puzzle. The guidelines now under consideration are designed merely to complete that puzzle. The dispensation for the white, colored and Asian communities is another aspect of the response to the whole complex situation. No one aspect invalidates any other.

Certainly the much greater strides that have been made toward full black political participation through national self-determination in a confederal association are in no way affected.

CSO: 3400/559

## BRIEFS

RESPONSE TO INTERVIEW--The Afrikaans writer, Breyten Breytenbach, who was released recently before serving his full prison sentence for terrorist activities, says the ANC is today completely in the hands of the South African Communist Party. Interviewed in Paris by the representatives of a Dutch newspaper, he says that at the time of the establishment of the (Okhela) movement in which he came to be involved, there was a power struggle between communists and noncommunists in the ANC. Even then, however, the South African Communist Party was in virtual control of the ANC. In Pretoria a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations, Col Chris Coetzee, has described the statements by Mr Breytenbach as confirmation that the inner circles of the ANC are dominated by the South African Communist Party. It was also confirmation, he said, of what the minister of law and order, Mr Le Grange, and the chief of the security police, Lt Gen Johan Coetzee, had stated on numerous occasions and it furthermore confirmed the evidence given before the Denton Commission in the United States and in South African courts. [Text] [MB041118 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 4 Jan 83]

MINISTER ON PARTY'S DECISION--The South African minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says discussions on constitutional affairs have already brought about a good understanding among the various population groups forming a basis for further progress. Reacting to the decision by the colored Labor Party to take part in the new constitutional development, Mr Heunis said his government held high hopes that further gratifying results would follow soon. The government was both thankful and impressed by the responsible and positive attitude of the overwhelming majority of the colored population. Collective efforts were being made to improve the present dispensation to everybody's advantage. Results so far, had been promising. Mr Heunis said this offered tangible proof that when reasonable leaders negotiated in a positive spirit, rewards were forthcoming. Reason and logic could triumph when emotionally laden problems were tackled jointly.

BOESAK SCORES PARTY'S DECISION--There's been more angry reaction to the colored Labor Party's decision to participate in the government's reform plan. Criticism has come from president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Alan Boesak. From Cape Town, (Betty Hoffmeyer). [Hoffmeyer] In

an interview yesterday, Boesak accused the Labor Party of opportunism. He said he believed the leadership had motives such as position and money for agreeing to participate. He also said the Labor Party never represented the colored community. Boesak predicted a united front of opposition from community organizations, sports bodies and churches. He said many of those had already rejected the proposals on moral and political grounds. [Text] [MB070800 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 7 Jan 83]

BANNED ITEMS--An open letter by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference has been declared undesirable. The latest ban list released in Cape Town today by the directorate of publications does not detail the contents of the letter. Other banned items include greetings cards featuring Neil Aggett, Namibia and National Women's Day produced by the Media Art Ensemble in Botswana. Another banned item is the publication entitled: What Is Magnus Malan Up To. The publisher of that is unknown. [Text] [MB071354 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 7 Jan 83]

BUTHELEZI WARNS INDIANS--South Africans of Indian origin have been warned against accepting the governments constitutional proposals. The warning comes from Kwazulu's chief Gatsha Buthelezi. He said Indians should not follow the Colored Labor Party in what he called its unseemly haste to accept the government's plans. Buthelezi was speaking to a delegation from the Reform Party headed by its leader, Y.S. Chinsamy. He says coloreds have missed a golden opportunity and hopes Indians will not rush into accepting the proposals. [Text] [MB080908 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600 GMT 8 Jan 83]

CSO: 3400/563

OFFICIAL HOPES FOR OCTOBER ELECTIONS

MB061803 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 6 Jan 83 pp 1, 16

[Text] The Indvuna Yetinkhundla [chief of traditional regions system], Mr Mndeni Shabalala, has said if all goes well general elections for members of the electoral college should be held by October this year.

"We will soon know when to prepare for the next general elections to choose members of the electoral college," Mr Shabalala told THE TIMES yesterday. He continued: "I have put out feelers to find out when we can start holding meetings with the people on the basis of the Tinkhundla system. We are waiting for the green light from the elders to start doing so. But I do promise that on the basis of the feelers the elders are busy working on the subject of the Tinkhundla. Apparently, due to pressure of other government and state affairs there has been no final word on this issue."

Mr Shabalala told THE TIMES that his office was anxious to get the green light to start holding Tinkhundla meetings. "One thing is certain: The Tinkhundla are functioning very well, although we have not been able so far to hold meetings in accordance with the principles embodied in the system. The reason that it appears the Tinkhundla are a little bit quiet is that I can't just go out and address meetings without getting the green light from the head of state or the prime minister."

Mr Shabalala said the Tinkhundla governors and members of the electoral college had repeatedly asked him why the Tinkhundla seemed not to have got off the ground after almost five years since the system was introduced to return the country to parliamentary government.

Mr Shabalala said that his explanation has been that the elders were taking their time because as a new concept there was the need to be very careful before taking any decisions on the future of the system. This was the same explanation that the late his majesty King Sobhuza II gave during what turned out to be his last public address to the nation at Lobamba royal residence last year.

Mr Shabalala told THE TIMES that her majesty the queen regent Dzeliwe was in constant consultation with the prime minister Prince Mabandla over the functions of the regional administrators who have not assumed their official functions since the announcement of their appointments last year. Mr Shabalala pointed out that the four districts would be renamed regions and the functions of the present district commissioners would be effectively taken over by the regional administrators who would enjoy the status of deputy ministers.

"The title of district commissioner, according to the king's order establishing the third parliament of Swaziland, no longer exists. It is being replaced by the regional administrator."

The Tinkhundla system was introduced in 1978 when, instead of the eight constituencies drawn up at independence under-westminister-style constitution, the country was divided into 40 Tinkhundla.

The first general elections since 1972 were held to return the country to parliamentary government after six years of government through a council of ministers. Each Inkhundla returned two members for the electoral college, who in turn elected members of parliament. Of the 80 members of the electoral college, there are now 79, following the death of the member for Sigwe, Mr Mnkamndane Dlamini, who was chosen in a by-election. The late Mr Dlamini had been elected to replace Mr Ndawonye Sikhondze who had been nominated by the late king to the senate.

CSO: 3400/560



KAWAWA PRAISES PEMBA PEASANTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 3 Jan 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE CCM Secretary General, Ndugu Rashidi Kawawa, has praised peasants in Pemba Island for massive response to the clove picking campaign. The peasants are expected to earn 155m/- from the crop this season.

Ndugu Kawawa who started a two-day tour of Pemba on Saturday was told yesterday that the Zanzibar State Trade Corporation (ZSTC) had by December 31, last year, collected 1,222 tonnes of cloves worth 27.6m/- from peasants.

The 1982/83 yield is estimated at 5,791 tonnes valued at 155m/-.

The Party Secretary General said he was impressed by the co-operation of pupils and their parents in picking the crop.

He said the effort was indicative of their resolve to work hard to improve the

country's adverse economic situation.

He told the peasants that the crop would be exported and earn the Government foreign exchange which would facilitate implementation of other development projects.

Ndugu Kawawa urged the peasants to direct their efforts to food crop farming immediately after the clove picking season.

He said the people should not depend on imported food because, he added, this would jeopardise national freedom. "Independence means self-reliance," he stressed.

He reiterated that Tanzanians should not be choosy in food consumption and that they should utilise crops best suited to their local environment.

CSO: 3400/566

## PARTY WORKSHOP CALLS FOR STRONG PARTY PLANNING UNIT

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 3 Jan 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE proposed Department of Economic Affairs and Planning of the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) Secretariat must be strong enough to effect central planning of development activities.

The Department should be consolidated in future to become a Party central economic planning commission.

This was the consensus reached at the Party workshop on Party supervision of economic affairs, which ended at the Msimbazi Community Centre in Dar es Salaam last Friday.

Participants to the workshop stressed that the Party's resolve to build Socialism dictated the establishment of a competent central planning unit manned by highly qualified personnel.

"We shall be the first country in history to embark on socialist construction without such an organ," one of the participants said.

He said the Arusha Declaration which was the blue-print for the Party policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance was "a statement of intent."

"We need a competent organ which will translate that statement into practice if we are to achieve the desired goal," he explained.

The workshop observed that the present system under which the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs co-ordinated national plans was lacking in many ways.

"The Ministry is no more than a clearing house... Each Ministry projects its own plans which are simply compiled by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs at the last stage," another participant said.

The participants said, however, that the role of the Party's planning unit should not interfere with day to day

activities of ministries and other institutions.

The unit would essentially act as a check point for all government plans before and during implementation. The unit would also be responsible for assessing the achievements at the end of the programmes, they said.

The workshop also called for closer supervision of financial institutions in the country, which according to the participants, were running independently of government control.

It was observed that although the Government owned shares in nearly all public institutions, government subsidy or foreign aid channelled to the institutions through the Government passed for grants.

Such injections should be included in the government shares to the respective institutions, the participants said.

CSO: 3400/566

# REPOWERING OF TAZARA LOCOMOTIVES INCREASES HAULING TONNAGE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 24 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Mike Sikawa]

[Excerpt]

REPOWERING of locomotives of the Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority's (TAZARA) DHF engines with MTU engines has increased the line's hauling tonnage from 900 to 1,100 tons per locomotive, it has been reported.

Commenting on a recent innovation report by the mechanical engineering department of the authority, the TAZARA Chief Mechanical Engineer, Ndugu L. B. J. Chogo, said apart from the tonnage rise, representing 22.22 per cent, fuel consumption per ton-kilometre had also decreased by about eight per cent.

He explained that there had also been a high locomotive availability of up to 86 per cent. Availability of the original locomotives was about 45 per cent.

Because of the locomotives higher technical speed, and a reduction in locomotive servicing time at depots, the turn-round time (in sections in which they are operating) has been reduced by about 29.26 per cent.

This is only but one of the 40 innovations undertaken by the TAZARA mechanical department since the railway was handed over to Zambia and Tanzania governments six years ago. Some of them were meant for other industries within the country, a paper on innovations said.

The paper, presented to the recent seminar of the Institute of Engineers in Arusha, by Ndugu A. O. Mkamba of TAZARA, said repowering work included fabrication and installation of engine mounting foundations and air inlets channels.

Some modifications were also made to the electrical control console and operating desk; and

there was also a complete relaying of the cooling water system. The original radiator piping was also modified, Ndugu Mkamba said. The DFH engines were experiencing frequent failures, leading to high maintenance and running costs.

Tazara engineers also designed and manufactured container clamping mechanisms and installed them on existing TAZARA flat wagons, as an alternative for importing new wagons or twist locks to be fitted onto existing wagons.

The innovation has effected faster loading and off-loading of containers, cut down risks of load shifting which has sometimes led to derailments, and contributed to the increased transportation efficiency since now container wagons are no longer detached enroute for load adjustments, the paper says.

CSO: 3400/566

GOVERNMENT APPROVES EXPANSION PLAN FOR DAR ES SALAAM CITY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 25 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Daniel Mshana]

[Excerpt]

THE Government has approved expansion plans for Dar es Salaam City to officially incorporate 50 more villages ringing the city.

The villages were not immediately known yesterday because the task of drawing up the boundaries had not been completed, according to the City Director, Ndugu David Mgwassa. It is, however, understood that they stretch as far as Mbezi, Gezaule and Mjimwema.

The exercise of drawing up the boundaries would be completed early next year, Ndugu Mgwassa said yesterday.

He said the task of fixing village wards was in progress and would be completed soon.

Ndugu Mgwassa, however, admitted that the inclusion of the villages would administratively be burdensome to the already financially troubled City Council. He asked for government help in running the expanded city.

He said the Council had limited resources and could not count on the villages to generate revenue to boost those resources.

However, the City Director expressed optimism that proper land planning and use would be exercised in line with the increased population and space.

## TANESCO ANNOUNCES NEW TARIFF RATES AS OF ONE JANUARY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Mike Sikawa]

[Text]

THE Tanzania Electric Supply Company (TANESCO) has announced new tariff rates, raising electricity prices variously. The new rates become effective on Saturday — January 1.

TANESCO Managing Director Salvatory Mosha said in a statement issued in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the move had been taken to meet the company's increasing costs.

However, he said, the new tariff structure had been worked out to give additional relief by reducing charge per electricity unit consumed for domestic purposes.

The subsidy is given to those who consume below 100 units per month, he said, adding that the tariff also gives relief to light industries so as to encourage development of small scale industries.

He explained: "This move to raise electricity prices has been taken to enable the company to meet increasing operational costs particularly the cost of oil required for power generation and also to enable the company contribute to the cost of intended development projects".

He pointed out that TANESCO was committed to carrying out construction work and expansion programmes to meet the growing demand for electricity throughout the country.

Major investment programs include the

development of the Mtera Hydro-Power Plant, and the grid extension to North-West from Iringa to Dodoma, Singida, Shinyanga, Tabora, Mwanza and Musoma.

Construction was underway to extend the grid from Kidatu to Iringa, Mufindi and Mbeya, he said.

The company was also undertaking electrification of Kilimanjaro Region, Newala/Masasi-Nachingwea; and Kyela in Mbeya Region. The development programme also includes the rehabilitation of existing stations and reinforcement of the existing transmission system.

At a later stage, a new training school is to be constructed for developing skills of middle level technical personnel in order to cope with expanding operations, Ndugu Mosha said.

The projected investment programme for years 1982 through 1987 envisages a total expenditure amounting to 5,636.2m/- excluding interest on loans, which is charged during the period of project construction of the total intended expenditure, he said.

"Development of hydro-power and grid extension constitutes 74 per cent of this expenditure. Electrification of rural areas and the development of mini-hydros will absorb 5 per cent, whereas 7 per cent of this expenditure will be earmarked for the distribution system, and the balance is aimed at rehabilitation of diesel generators and completion of the on-going projects".

Ndugu Mosha further pointed out that in order to carry out its investment plan and at the same time operate its existing power systems, TANESCO would have to generate adequate funds from its own operations, which had necessitated the increase of tariffs.

The last revision of tariffs was in 1979 and the Managing Director said the new rates would soon be made available to consumers in booklets.

The new tariff structure is as follows:

- Tariff No. 1, exclusive domestic use — 0 to 100 units at -/50 cents per unit, minimum 13/- in excess of 100 units at -/75 cents per unit.

- Tariff No. 2 (commercial) — applicable to premises where business or trade is conducted and where consumption is less than 10,000 units. 0-500 units at 2/50 per unit, minimum 50/00. In excess of 500 units at 1/75 per unit.

- Tariff No. 3 (Industrial) — applicable to premises engaged in production of any article or commodity or industrial process and where consumption is less than 10,000 units. 0-1000 units at 1/10 per unit, minimum 150/00. In excess of 1000 units at 1/00 per unit.

- Tariff No. 4 (industrial) — applicable to premises as in Tariff No. 3 but where consumption is more than 10,000 units, all KVA at 75/00 per KVA minimum charge 6,000/00. Units at -/70 cents per unit.

- Tariff No. 5 (commercial) — applicable to premises as in Tariff No. 2 where consumption is more than 10,000 units. All KVA at 80/00 per KVA, minimum charges 9,600/00. Units at -/75 cents per unit.

- Tariff No. 6 — applicable to street lighting religious organisation like mosque, churches, temple etc. and other charitable organisations. All units at -/90 cents per unit.

## TWO MINISTERS PRAISE NETHERLANDS FOR ASSISTANCE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 31 Dec 82 p 1

[Text]

FOREIGN Minister Salim Ahmed Salim has praised the Netherlands for its sympathetic interest in Tanzania's development efforts and positive approach to the plight of developing countries.

Ndugu Salim, who was speaking at a farewell dinner in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday night for out-going Netherlands Ambassador, Ndugu Adrian Van Der Willigen, said during the ambassadors stay in the country relations in terms of assistance and co-operation extended to Tanzania had flourished.

"But, above all, we appreciate the understanding and sensitivity demonstrated by the Netherlands at our most difficult times", the Minister stressed, saying this was reflective of the

Netherlands' approach to the plight of developing countries.

The Netherlands had become one of Tanzania's largest bilateral donors, having aided Tanzania in rural water supply, agricultural development including sugar projects at Mtibwa, Kilombero and Kagera in Morogoro and Kagera region, Ndugu Salim said.

Ndugu Salim also mentioned the Netherlands' participation in livestock development and assistance to Air Tanzania.

He thanked the Netherlands for providing equipment to the University of Dar es Salaam and fellowships to Tanzanians.

In the political sphere, Ndugu Salim said relations between the two countries had been strengthened by the commitment to the struggle for freedom and human dignity.

He hailed the Netherlands' support of independence for Namibia, opposition to apartheid in racist South Africa and her contribution in support of a genuine North-South dialogue and towards a new international economic order.

In reply, Ambassador Willigen expressed appreciation over Tanzania's role in the quest for peace and freedom, especially in relation to the liberation of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and, in the near future, of Namibia.

Meanwhile, the Netherlands has been praised for its pioneering role in establishing small scale industries in Tanzania.

Speaking during a farewell luncheon he hosted for Ndugu Willigen at the Kilimanjaro Hotel in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, the Minister for In-

dustries, Ndugu Basil Mramba said the Netherlands was one of the first countries to establish the National Small Industries Corporation, predecessor to the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) in 1971.

Ndugu Mramba also mentioned several other intermediate industrial projects the Netherlands had helped establish in Tanzania and praised the Ambassador as being "more than an advisor to his Ministry" during his stay in the country.

Replying, Ndugu Willigen said since 1981 his country had given 65 per cent of its aid in agricultural projects in the country. He pledged continued financial aid to the industrial sector in Tanzania.

CSO: 3400/566

# PARTY OFFICIALS URGE CCM LEADERS TO MOBILIZE MASSES FOR UJAMAA

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Jan 83 p 1

[Text]

PARTY Secretary-General Rashidi Kawawa has urged CCM leaders to help mobilise the masses for communal farming as a pre-requisite for socialist rural transformation in the country.

Opening a one-day seminar for 70 National Executive Committee (NEC) members at the Karimjee Hall in Dar es Salaam yesterday, Ndugu Kawawa said the Party leadership must champion the cause of agricultural modernisation.

The 70 NEC members start touring eight regions in the country to work among the people and educate them on the importance of communal farming.

The Party Secretary General said although a number of Ujamaa villages had established procedures for carrying out communal work, their Party leadership and members needed reminding

that agricultural development was a continuous process.

During the two-week tour, the NEC members will cover Mtwara, Lindi, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Tanga, Coast, Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions in groups.

Ndugu Kawawa stressed that efforts should be made to meet agricultural targets set by the Party where villages are required to at least have 100 acres of Ujamaa farms.

He said the Party depended on top organs in mobilising, politicising and educating those at the lower levels so that they accept fully the Party policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance.

On residential and Party branches at work places, Ndugu Kawawa said the Party leadership must not flinch on its responsibility to impress upon the workers that they are the vanguard of the struggle for socialist construction.

"The only way to raise output and efficiency in an enterprise is for the Party branch leaders to work closely with managements which should welcome CCM branch leaders in their meetings and vice-versa.

The Head of the Party Secretariat's Ideology, Political Education and training Department, Ndugu Kingunge Ngombale-Mwiru, told the participants that when in the regions they should mobilise Party members to come forward in the struggle for socialist construction in the country.

The mobilisation campaigns, he said, should make the Party members aware that the top Party leadership valued the role played by Party members in national economic rehabilitation through self-reliance. The NEC members should also avail themselves of the opportunity to learn from the masses.

CSO: 3400/566

## GOVERNMENT RAISES TAXES EFFECTIVE ONE JANUARY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by Wence Mushi]

[Text]

THE government has adjusted taxes upwards effective today to offset expected revenue shortfalls caused by the persisting poor economic performance.

The Deputy Minister for Finance, Ndugu Venance Ngula said in Dar es Salaam yesterday that the measure would earn the Government some 800.3 million/-, and enable it meet its tax revenue target of 8,748.9 million/- by June this year.

The new move has affected tax on beer, cigarettes, spirits, soft drinks, petrol and cement by between 25 and 500 per cent effective today.

He also said that the price commissioner would announce price changes necessitated by the new tax measures. But this he said would mainly touch high income earners.

Starting today, sales tax on a litre of beer rises from 24/50 to 36/- and that on a litre of Konyagi from 100/- to 150/-. Sales tax on other spirits has risen from 125/- to 200/- per litre, he added.

Sales tax on cigarettes has gone up by 25 per cent while sales tax on cement has risen from 25/- to 125/- per tonne for a 50-kilo bag, sales tax has gone up from 1/25 to 6/25.

Tax on soft drinks had risen from 4/25 per litre to 6/80, while that charged on cloth has risen by 25 per cent.

Tax on regular petrol has gone up from 1,550/- to 3,553/20 per

1,000 litres of the fuel, while that on premium type has risen from 1,950/- to 4,551/40 for the same amount.

Ndugu Ngula, however, said this would affect price the consumer has to pay by 1/80 per litre of premium and 1/60 per litre of regular petrol.

Tax on sugar would be levied on a percentage basis instead of specific rate basis which was being applied.

Under the percentage basis, tax charged would be 60 per cent of ex-factory price which would translate into 2,850/- per tonnes instead of 1,850/- that was being charged before.

Customs duty has been raised on musical instruments and souvenirs from 20 to 500 per cent, while that on recreation rises from 6/- to 10/-.

Ndugu Ngula said plans were underway to charge the tax on the basis of attendance rather than use of revenue stamps.

Motor vehicles transfer tax will now be 15 per cent of the price of the vehicle, but not less than 10,000/-, which Ndugu Ngula explained as the minimum for vehicles of not more than three tonnes.

He said motor cycles and bigger vehicles were not affected by the new tax.

Motor vehicle registration tax has been raised from 100/- to 1,000/- for all vehicles, he said, while driving licences fees will now be 500/- for three years instead of 100/-.

Learners will have to pay a fee of 200/- instead of the former 40/-, he said. He also said permits for foreign vehicles will cost 1,000/- for 90 days instead of 100/- now

being paid for a 30-day permit.

Road licence fees have been doubled from the present 250/- and 2,500/- to 500/- and 5,000/-, the Deputy Minister added.

Stamp duty has also been doubled, and receipts will now have stamps affixed on them as was formerly the case. A 100/- receipts, will bear a 1/- stamp duty and 500/- one of 10/- using the "composition" method, he said.

The measure the Deputy Minister said was to ease the administration of revenue collection on goods and services sold.

Business licence fees will be charged at between 2,000/- and 20,000/- depending on the type of business being carried out, he said.

Airport departure service charge will now be payable by everybody at the start of every flight, and not at the start of a return-trip as was the case before. However travellers on transit will not be affected provided they do not leave airport premises.

The amount payable will be 40/- to be collected and remitted to the Government by either airlines or airport authorities, Ndugu Ngula said.

Fees for customs agency, boats and other services rendered by the institution have been raised from 100/- to 5,000/-.

Ndugu Ngula said the rates were set back in 1952, and has since been outlived by changed circumstances under which the services were rendered.

He appealed to the people to contribute fully towards successful collection of not only the increase taxes but all taxes. He also pledged further improvement on tax collection.



# MINISTRY SAYS 1983 ECONOMIC SITUATION TO REMAIN BLEAK

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 2 Jan 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE economic situation will this year continue to remain difficult due to continued poor domestic production, the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs has said.

Reviewing the state of the economy, the Ministry, however, observed that Agricultural situation was more promising due to good weather. Nevertheless it urged peasants to take advantage of the situation to ensure increased crop cultivation.

The ministry forecast that economic growth for the just-ended year was expected to remain at the 1981 level, which was a negative 3.6 per cent.

It said foreign exchange constraints would remain binding due to the expected level of exports and prices obtaining on the world market.

The ministry observed that efforts to mobilise additional foreign exchange would have to continue. It also said the newly instituted Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) would have to be more vigorously pursued especially to increase domestic production.

On sectoral performance, the ministry said so far there was improvement in the agricultural sector because of favourable weather. "In several areas in the country people are consuming more of their home-grown foodstuffs".

The Ministry said, however, that performance in manufacturing and transport continued to deteriorate due to shortage of raw materials and spare parts.

"In fact several factories had to be closed down as a result of lack of foreign exchange for importation of basic inputs", it said.

There was also rapid increase in domestic price level translating in higher inflation. The consumer price index rose by 33.8 per cent during the third quarter of last year compared to 25.6 per cent in 1981.

The ministry also said that continued low production caused difficulties to government revenues. The government raised taxes on Friday to offset revenue shortfalls caused by the poor situation.

CSO: 3400/566

## NATIONAL TRANSPORT COMPANY BEGINS RECEIVING SPARE PARTS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 3 Jan 83 p 1.

[Text]

THE National Transport Corporation (NTC) has started receiving spare parts and vehicle components for the implementation of the 112m/- vehicle rehabilitation programme launched last April.

The Acting NTC Chairman and Managing Director, Ndugu M. Shekalaghe, said in Dar es Salaam at the weekend that the first consignment of "rehabilitation kits" was cleared from the Dar es Salaam Port last Friday while the rest would arrive between this month and June.

The total cost of the spare parts, vehicle components and body-building materials to be imported under the programme from Italy, Britain and West Germany, would be 108m/- while the rest of the funds would meet local costs including NTC consulting fees.

Ndugu Shkalaghe said implementation of the project, expected to take 18 months, would be completed by October when 1,300 vehicles would have been put on the road — injecting an additional 1,200 tonnes more to

the national transport capacity.

"Project beneficiaries would be the National Bus Service (KAMATA), the Usafiri Dar es Salaam (UDA), the National Milling Corporation, the Tanzania Tea Authority, the Tanzania Cotton Authority, the Tanzania Wood Industry, General Agricultural Products Export, all regional trading companies (RTCs) and the Board of Internal Trade.

Others are Tanzania Zambia Road Services, Tanzania Breweries Limited, Tanzania Railways Corporation, Ministry of Works, Mwananchi Engineering and Contracting Company (MECCO), Coast Region Transport Company, TANESCO and the Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation.

The project, financed by a European Economic Commission (EEC) grant, would involve rehabilitation of 600 trucks and buses as well as body building of 700 vehicles manufactured in EEC countries. The vehicles would include Albion, Fiat, Leyland and Mercedes Benz makes.

The material would be sold

to the beneficiaries at a reasonable price because their customs duty would be waived. Spare parts and vehicle components like engines would be sold in exchange for old ones and the revenue would be used by NTC to strengthen projects in the road transport sector.

Ndugu Shekalaghe said NTC had also recommended to the Government that some of the revenue be used to re-condition some of the old engines to repair more vehicles as part of the second phase of the rehabilitation project.

He said a four-man team had been formed by NTC to monitor implementation of the project in collaboration with experts from the EEC. The rehabilitation monitoring team would, among other things, ascertain that new components like engines were installed intact.

Repair work would be carried out in Dar es Salaam at the beneficiaries' workshop and at vehicle dealers' workshop in Iringa, Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza regions, he said.

CSO: 3400/566

## THIRTY RAILROAD CARS TO HAUL ROCK PHOSPHATE ARUSHA TO TANGA

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 24 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Mkumbwa Ally]

[Text]

A total of 30 railway wagons will be hauling rock phosphate from the Minjingu mine in Arusha to the Tanzania Fertilizer Company (TFC) in Tanga beginning February, next year to speed up movement of the raw materials, it was said in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

The Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) General Manager, Ndugu Tom Mmari, said in the city that modification of 25 wagons at the corporation's workshop would be completed towards the end of next month.

Five wagons modified by TRC to ferry the raw materials are currently plying the Arusha-Tanga line but their haulage capacity is too small. According to TFC early this month, only 150 tonnes had been ferried to Tanga since the Minjingu mine was inaugurated mid November.

The company which is the only one producing fertilizer in the country suspended production on December 1 because of shortage of rock phosphate and Sulphate of Potash (SOP).

TFC Marketing Manager O.L. Mollel said they could not resume production with the small amount of phosphate delivered from Minjingu adding that they required stock piles of between 5,000 and 6,000 tonnes of the raw materials before they could switch on the plant.

Plans are underway to import the phosphate from Jordan but Ndugu Mollel said letters of credit for the order were yet to be confirmed.

The Minjingu Phosphate Company (MPC) which was inaugurated on November 16, this year has the capacity to mine 165,000 tonnes of soft phosphate ore annually to yield 100,000 tonnes of phosphate concentrate.

Ndugu Mmari indicated that his corporation was not fully involved in planning the transportation of the raw material to Tanga but that they were brought in during the final stages.

The general manager said TRC planned to import specially made hopper wagons as a long-term measure to solve the problem.

He said phosphate haulage needed special wagons to be used by MPC alone because there was no other client with similar requirements. Between 40 and 50 hopper wagons will be required at full capacity production.

Ndugu Mmari said when the 30 modified wagons are ready, arrangements would be made to employ a whole train to haul the Minjingu phosphate to Tanga.

The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Minerals, Ndugu Samuel Lwakatare, said yesterday that the movement of the raw material depended wholly on the TRC.

He said it would be more expensive to use road transport and that this would need a fleet of lorries which was not available. He also pointed to bad roads between Arusha and Tanga as a further hindrance.

The phosphate is ferried by 30-tonne trucks from the mine to a temporary loading ramp at the Arusha railway yard because a permanent siding is still under construction.

# NATION PAYS FIRST INSTALLMENT OF EANSL LIABILITIES

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Mkumbwa Ally]

[Text]

TANZANIA has paid the first instalment of 4.175 million/- to meet her share of the defunct Eastern Africa National Shipping Line (EANSL) liabilities, it was learnt in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

It was not immediately known if the other three shareholders of the line disbanded two years ago had also met the obligation. Each one of them was to pay up a similar instalment last month.

Confirming the payment in the city, the Director of Shipping in the Ministry of Communications and Transport, Ndugu P.N. Meghji, said he would enquire on the position of the other former partners from the EANSL joint liquidators, Coopers and Lybrand in London.

The four states, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Zambia last March agreed on a payment scheme under which each of them would contribute 4.175 million/- in six

equal instalments beginning November, this year.

The EANSL liabilities are estimated at 59.6 million/- of which each of the shareholders would pay about 15 million/-. The last instalments are expected to be rounded off in May, 1984.

Ndugu Meghji explained, however, that the figure was tentative and that more claims might be lodged by creditors. There was also the possibility of reducing liabilities, he said.

He said the liquidator would set a time limit for further claims at the end of which the accounts would be updated and a joint meeting with shareholders convened to review them.

Tanzania and Kenya will pay the bulk of their instalments in local currency because most of the liabilities were made locally. Ndugu Meghji said the two countries would operate local accounts through which the payments would be made.

He said Uganda and Zambia, paying most of their shares in foreign currency, would channel their remittances to London.

The shipping firm formed in 1966 has virtually no assets to be shared between the shareholders because the line's creditors seized the only three ships to recover investments and dividends.

Two of the ship

Two of the ships, mv. Jogoo registered in Kenya and mv. Uganda which was registered in Uganda were seized at high seas in Europe shortly before the demise of the company and were later sold.

The third ship, mv Jitegemee registered in Tanzania was seized by the Tanzania Investment Bank (TIB) at the Dar es Salaam Port. TIB was one of the EANSL creditors.

Ndugu Meghji said the seizures covered part of the liabilities.

CSO: 3400/566

## CONSULTANT NOTES SAVINGS FOR INDUSTRY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 23 Dec 82 p 1

[Text]

TANZANIAN industries can save furnace oil and electricity expenditure worth at least 45 million/- annually through energy conservation measures, a United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) consultant has said.

Mr. Sean Rick, a consultant to the Tanzania Industrial Research and Development Organisation (TIRDO), said findings from eight in-plant energy audits by the TIRDO energy unit showed that the eight industries could net annual savings of more than 30 million/-.

Mr. Rick was briefing the Minister for Industries, Ndugu Basil Mramba, and other government officials on the energy audits carried out in Dar es Salaam recently.

He said the eight industries would effect the savings through improved furnace and boiler operation, better insulation, reuse of hot water, repair of steam leaks and adjustment of electrical loads and power factors.

The consultant said extension of the energy conservation measures to other Tanzanian industries would increase the annual savings by between 15 million/- to 20 million/-.

He said some industrial units had made progress in energy savings but added that further gains could be achieved.

According to Mr. Rick, the materials needed for repair and maintenance were mainly available locally. Where imports were necessary, the effected savings would pay back the investment in less than one year, he added.

The Industrial energy audit services were inaugurated in Dar es Salaam last month. A TIRDO statement issued in the city said beneficiaries of the services would be issued with audit reports recommending potential energy savings and possible reductions in energy consumption.

The first surveys were scheduled for completion on December 16. The audit services would continue next year during which industries outside Dar es Salaam would be invited to participate.

The surveys cover furnace and boiler efficiencies, heat losses in plant facilities and equipment and the effectiveness of electric power consumption.

## ELCT LANGUAGE, ORIENTATION SCHOOL TEACHES SWAHILI TO FOREIGNERS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 4

[Article by Lugano Mbwina]

[Text]

A foreigner coming to work in Tanzania without prior knowledge of "Kiswahili" language, will be caught in a big problem of communication barrier. For some time efforts have been made to ease the problem for such visitors. SHIHATA Staff Writer, LUGANO MBWINA, reports on the Morogoro-based Lutheran School which teaches Kiswahili to foreigners.

KISWAHILI is now one of the world's reputed languages. Its roots rose from East Africa with a special attribution to Tanzania where the entire population speaks the language, unlike the neighbouring Kenya and Uganda.

Tanzania is therefore proud to see this language mushroom to all corners of the globe. The government itself, and other private institutions are playing a forefront role to ensure this goal is achieved.

The first signs of pride in Kiswahili that many foreigners find when they arrive in the country is that Tanzanians are "reluctant" to speak foreign languages. This, on the other hand, is a notable contribution towards the development of Kiswahili. For because of this, many of the foreigners have accepted to learn Kiswahili before they start their assignment in Tanzania.

Schools have been opened to teach Kiswahili to foreigners who volunteer to take it as a first lesson before they start their assigned duties in Tanzania.

The language and orientation school at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania (ELCT), eight kilometres from Morogoro, along Tanzania/Zambia Highway, is one of these schools. It is a department of the Lutheran Junior Seminary Secondary School owned by the Lutheran Church.

The head of the school, Simon Bandio, who holds a Masters Degree in foreign languages education from a United States University told me recently that the idea of establishing the school came about in the early 1960s. Those were the years when the spirit of nationalism was high and encouraged the need for a common language, following this country's independence.

He narrates that it is at this time that the Lutheran Church found itself in trouble with its new arrivals of missionaries personnel because of communication gap with the people here. Therefore, initiating orientation and Kiswahili courses became the only solution to cope up with the situation.

Orientation course is provided through lectures, field trips in the villages, hospitals and market places.

Ndugu Bandio says, each lesson is built up on common situations encountered in daily life, like exchange of greetings before beginning a conversation.

Students are taught how to introduce themselves — "Jina langu ni Bwana Edward White, kutoka Uingereza, ninaishi Lutheran Junior Seminari Morogoro, ninajifunza Kiswahili." (My name is Mr Edward White from England, I live at the Lutheran Junior Seminary, where I am learning Kiswahili).

He said there are 60 different lessons, each presented through 'dialogue system' and lessons on new vocabulary and structures are introduced to the entire class usually of 32 students. The introduction is done by a trained instructor, then students proceed to work in smaller groups of two to three with the help of an aide employed by the school.

While the mornings are entirely devoted to language learning, the afternoons are given to grammar and orientation experiences.

After few weeks of such drills, they are introduced to letter and essay writing to help them recall and use the words and experiences they have had.

In the orientation course, apart from field trips, the students are lectured on Tanzania's history, political structure and policies, culture, law and customs, its economy and natural resources. And in the last weeks students are encouraged to concentrate on their individual areas of interest in terms of the work they expect to do after the course.

No complicated methods are applied during the training. Cards bearing different words, photographs, illustrations and sometimes recorded tapes are the most recommended teaching facilities at the school.

The methods might look "crude" as compared to laboratory techniques which are

applied in developed countries. But they have proved best at this school, following the curriculum which stress on teaching through "hearing, seeing and talking," according to Ndugu Bandio.

According to Ndugu Bandio, pastors for instance, have written Kiswahili sermons, while teachers have also been able to prepare teaching booklets with illustrations on various subjects like medical, engineering, cookery, sewing and other practical subjects.

Oral and written Kiswahili examinations are given at the end of the 18-week course.

The level of the examinations is that of 'Tanzania lower Kiswahili' examination.

However, for the sake of these foreign students, its format is controlled so that only the words encountered during the course are included in the examination.

The founder of the school, Miss Hellen Errickson, an American lady stayed in the country from 1946, until she retired, and flew back to US in 1981.

Ndugu Bandio recalls that Miss Errickson, during her long stay in the country for almost 35 years, new Kiswahili 'better than even most of the 'Waswahili themselves'.

The school teaching syllabus remains to be one of her notable contribution to the school, he recounts.

The school's intake is still of 32 students for 18 weeks

courses, twice a year. Usually the course begins from mid-February to June and late July to November.

The school was first established at Kurasini in Dar es Salaam, between 1963/70 and then moved to Kibosho, between 1970/80 before being shifted to Morogoro.

Apart from Ndugu Bandio, Miss Martanne Gustafsson, a Finnish, is another trained instructor who has been with the school for the past 13 years. She started teaching immediately after Miss Errickson had retired.

According to Miss Gustafsson, the school has so far taught over 500 foreigners since its establishment. The students mainly are from the United States, Sweden, Germany, Finland and Norway.

She says most of them are pastor, doctors, teachers, secretaries, accountant, hospital administrators and housewives of the Lutheran Church foreign personnel.

She adds, however, that the school is not strictly for Lutherans. Those who have studied there included Roman Catholic and Moravian churches students. It is also open for expatriates who come to work for the government of Tanzania.

Tuition fees together with boarding rates are 15,750/- for ELCT members, while non-members, the rate is 16,200/-. Students with children pay an extra amount of 1,200/- for kindergarten services of an international school standard.

# UAE, KUWAIT, OMAN AGREE TO EXPAND COOPERATION WITH NATION

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 21 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by Charles Kizigha]

[Text]

UNITED Arab Emirates (UAE), Kuwait and Oman have agreed in principle to promote and diversify the existing relations with Tanzania for mutual benefit.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ndugu Salim Ahmed Salim, who returned to Dar es Salaam yesterday after a two-week tour to the Gulf states said his trip was useful and productive.

He told newsmen at the Dar es Salaam International Airport that Tanzania and the Gulf states had agreed to co-operate in economic, technical, trade and cultural undertakings.

He said leaders of the United Arab Emirates agreed to reactivate the joint commission with Tanzania and to explore possibilities of co-operation in economic, technical, trade and cultural areas.

In Qatar, the two countries agreed in principle to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level as soon as possible.

Ndugu Salim also held discussions with senior officials of Abu Dhabi Fund which assisted the recently launched Kagera Sugar plant in Kagera Region.

The Minister added that Kuwait and Tanzania have also agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level in the near future.

He said his visit had brought a new era of relations with the Gulf states and created a better atmosphere which Tanzania could make full use of.

Ndugu Salim said the discussions in Kuwait were very fruitful. The results of the talks would be pursued through normal government channels, he said.

"Kuwait officials expressed their sympathy with Tanzania's economic situation. Kuwait demonstrated great understanding on a number of issues," he said.

Ndugu Salim pointed out that Tanzania had been a beneficiary of Kuwait aid in a number of fields and he was optimistic that such assistance would be furthered following his visit to that country.

Ndugu Salim, however, said that although Kuwait was assisting Tanzania, the Arab country had its own economic problems. The oil glut and the war situation in the Middle East affected Kuwait's economy in one way or another, the Minister said.

CSO: 3400/566



NATION TO HOST INTERNATIONAL SWAHILI LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT MEETINGS

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 18 Dec 82 p 3

[Text]

TANZANIA will host two international conferences on development of Kiswahili sponsored by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) through UNESCO.

The Director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, Ndugu C. W. Temu, said in Dar es Salaam yesterday that SIDA had earmarked about 800,000/- to assist the institute organise the conferences.

The first conference scheduled for next June would be on standardisation of Kiswahili terminology and the second to be held in June 1984 would be on policy for dissemination of Kiswahili books and materials throughout the Kiswahili-speaking area, Ndugu Temu said.

He said the first conference would draw linguistic experts from the Kiswahili-speaking area and the second would attract policy makers from ministries of education and culture from the area.

Participants would come from Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire, Tanzania Mainland, the Isles and Comoro. Observers would be invited from Somalia, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Sudan, the British Broadcasting Corporation, Swahili Service and the Voice of America Swahili service.

CSO: 3400/566

PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS ON NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE

EA102010 Dar es Salaam Domestic Service in Swahili 1700 GMT 10 Jan 83

[Text] President Nyerere said today that Namibia has an internationally recognized right to be free and that right cannot depend on relations between the United States and any other country in the world. He said it is wrong for any country in the world to impose its wishes in the whole issue of Namibia's independence.

President Nyerere, who was speaking at a New Year reception he hosted for foreign diplomats in Dar es Salaam, said UN Security Council Resolution 435, which was adopted in 1978, has not yet been implemented.

He said the South African Boers have tightened their belts and have intensified their attacks against the independent African countries of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and now the Seychelles and Lesotho. Mwalimu said all these countries have been subjected to savage attacks by the Boers of South Africa.

He said that Tanzania regrets the conflict between the United States and Cuba and fails to understand the reasons behind the United States using this conflict with Cuba to stall Namibia's independence. President Nyerere said Tanzania also regrets the U.S.-Angola conflict, and it also cannot understand why the United States uses such conflicts to delay Namibia's independence.

Mwalimu said all UN member states, with the exception of South Africa, now want Namibia to be free. He said Namibians are being butchered and injured while demanding their freedom, and the country is being used as a stage for big international conflicts over which Namibia itself has no say.

The president said Tanzania will continue to join hands with other African countries in the struggle to destroy colonialism and apartheid on the whole continent.

CSO: 3449/15

## ZAIRE

### BRIEFS

SOUTH KOREAN DELEGATION--A seven-member South Korean economic delegation led by Mr Lee Chung-soo, minister adviser in charge of African affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has been staying in Kinshasa since 25 November and will remain until 1 December. [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 27 Nov 82 p 1] Citizen Inonga Lokongo L'Ome, state commissioner for transport and communications, and the delegation discussed projects which could aid Zaire's transport infrastructure. For the Zairian Shipping Company, this involves transforming two of its ships into container ships; for railroads the restoration of the Ilebo-Lubumbashi line, acquisition of 300 railroad cars, the construction of the Ilebo-Kinshasa Railroad, the electrification of the Kinshasa-Matadi line, and the construction of the Matadi-Banana railroad link in preparation for the construction of the Banana deep-water port. According to Mr Lee Chung-soo, all these projects are technically achievable by the South Korean transport industry; however, it remains to find financing either from lenders or from the South Korean Government. [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 30 Nov 82 pp 1, 7]

MATADI COMBINATION BRIDGE--Citizen Inonga Lokongo L'Ome, state commissioner for transport and communications, recently traveled by rail to Matadi where he noted the progress of the new combination highway/railway bridge over the Zaire River in Matadi. Construction is 83 percent completed, and it will presumably be finished on 18 March 1983. Also under construction at the port of Matadi are various wharfs for the container terminal. Citizen Inonga was also shown the 14 electric cranes and the loading crane which can lift a maximum of 35-40 tons, thus permitting containers to be stacked four high. [Luzolo Siasia] [Kinshasa ELIMA in French 29 Nov 82 p 10]

CSO: 3419/377

INTERVIEW WITH MUGABE

AU071450 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 4 Jan 83 p 4

[Interview with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, president of the African National Union of Zimbabwe - Patriotic Front [ZANU/PF], by Christa Schaffmann; in Zimbabwe, date not specified: "The Process of Political Consolidation Advances Gradually"]

[Text] The Republic of Zimbabwe began its development as an independent state in 1980 with both, assets and liabilities. The country was one of the most highly industrialized African countries. The high development level of its agriculture made possible considerable exports in addition to a far-reaching national self-sufficiency. The infrastructure was relatively well-developed and a health and education system existed which was above the African average.

But Zimbabwe also inherited war damage totaling many millions, at least half a million jobless, foreign control over the economy as well as three different armed forces which had to be integrated into one army; a minority of 244,000 white settlers, which constitutes a political power and a hostile neighbor--South Africa. What has Zimbabwe thus far made out of these conditions? How has it been able to utilize or change them. What considerations about the future are being made there? I discussed these problems in Harare with Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president of ZANU (PF).

It Was First Important to Secure the Gains

It was with independence, the prime minister stated, that the country has obtained the political instrument for implementing the required economic changes. The direction of these changes is clear. "We have set for ourselves a socialist program because we believe in socialism, derived from Marxism-Leninism." But--and here Mugabe was referring to the liabilities--it was first necessary to consolidate the situation and to secure what had been achieved. This has been done since 1980 and still is being done. "We are better off, much better I believe than in 1981 and a great deal better than in 1980 as far as security is concerned." As evidence of this Mugabe names the army, whose integration was accomplished successfully. "We now have an army which is our army and a police which is controlled by Africans." The same thing also applies to the public service, he says.

In the conversation we are now touching successively on things which actually had to be done simultaneously: repairing war damage, building houses, providing homes for the refugees, allotting pieces of land to people who had no basis of existence, changing the country, changing people.

Changing people--what does this imply? The prime minister explains it, citing an example. The peasants were the main class in the liberation struggle. They had supported him more than the townspeople. An intensification of the city guerrilla struggle had not yet been achieved. "But this does not mean a thing because peasant remains a peasant." Mugabe is a teacher and the interview almost turns into a lecture on the role of the classes in society, in any case about the role of the workers class whose numbers it is desirable to increase. Qualitative changes should be achieved among the workers, just as they should be achieved among the peasants by means of forming cooperatives. Mugabe refers to beginnings such as the organizing of workers committees among the workers and trends toward a co-determination in the economy which, in the long run, shall enable the workers themselves to manage enterprises, enterprises that belong to them.

#### More State Influence on the Economy

Thus we come to the topic of economic changes. The state, Mugabe explains, already possesses a certain power over industry. In the interest of strengthening this power it will both participate in private enterprises and set up enterprises itself. The participation will total at least 40 percent. For a model he names the Rhobank Enterprise, the present Zimbank, where the government now holds 60 percent of the shares and is presently about to acquire additional shares so that it will hold more than 80 percent. The remaining shares will be taken over later. Similar projects exist for mining. "This is the road through which we shall reduce control by the white minority and private property."

Takeover by various stages is the concept for the many enterprises in the country which are controlled by multinational concerns. Mugabe only lists the most important ones--the Anglo-American-Corporation, ONROH, and Rio Tinto. The 3-year plan, whose second part is to be published in late January, will contain more detailed data in this respect. But the prime minister makes it clear that this only is a first plan and that foreign control will not yet be overcome when it is implemented. But foreign control can be neutralized, he says.

What this should be understood to mean he explains with the example of foreign investments which had been sought by his government. The state stipulates the conditions for these. It decides on the basis of its requirements whether and to what extent it will participate in such investments. In this way, Mugabe stresses, the private sector is regulated, controlled and harnessed to the national objectives for the period in which the private economy cannot be taken over.

In the further course of the interview Mugabe reports about projects for the backward rural areas of Zimbabwe. Roads, bridges, dams and irrigation systems will be built, schools and hospitals will be erected and small industries will be established. Further increases in the wages of people receiving the lowest wages are also being considered in the summer of 1983.

All this costs money. Where do the means come from? The prime minister points to foreign aid, including loans from the International Monetary Fund. But first and foremost he underscores the economic progress of Zimbabwe in the past 2 years. It is with pride that he lists the growth rates of some 14 percent (1980), eight percent (1981) and some six percent (1982).

The positive balance sheet also applies to agriculture.

Despite the drought in the past year more maize was produced than in the past. There has just been a record harvest again. Concerning wheat Zimbabwe was able to become independent of imports in 1981. Also the development of stock farming is promising. Even meat exports are possible. "When Smith says we have not managed well--what does he mean? He means that, in contrast to his old hopes, we are successful and also politically our position is consolidated. But he does not at all want to see that."

Smith, the head of the former white minority regime in southern Rhodesia, is the key word for me to put the question concerning the Lancaster agreement. This agreement was concluded in December 1979 at Lancaster house in London between Great Britain, the government of Muzorewa, which emerged from mock elections, Smith as representative of the white minority and the liberation movements of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). The agreement settled the framework for Zimbabwe's independence, from the ceasefire through elections to the constitution of a future independent republic. Already as it was signed it was clear that some of the passages thought out by the former colonial power would not exactly make life easy for Zimbabwe. Has this suspicion become true? The prime minister nods. He mentions as an example the stipulation that certain changes of the constitution can only be made with 100 percent of the votes in the Parliament, thus also with that of Smith. "Nowhere else is there such a constitution," Mugabe states not without bitterness. He then lists the stipulation that land can be appropriated in principle only in exchange for payment--a de facto ban on land reform. And finally the composition of the Parliament for which a white representation of 20 members is laid down. The prime minister opposes this clause which arises from the principle of race segregation and not from its integration. Here he stresses that he is not against white deputies. "We cannot think of a purely black Parliament with a quarter of a million of white citizens."

That his party is serious about that he proved when forming the cabinet. "People who yesterday were with Smith and fought against us, like Chris

Anderson, today minister of state, are in my government. He was minister of justice under Smith. And many people were hanged in his time. We said, now there is a new situation. We forgive all who are ready to accept the new situation--the reality of the political change--and to cooperate. Then we also have Mr Norman, who had no political affiliations, a farmer, who also represents the whites, in our cabinet. This was a gesture vis-a-vis the whites, which was to show our readiness for integration. We were not forced to do that."

#### Latent Threat by South Africa

All calculations which Zimbabwe makes today or has made in the past it can and never could make without the Republic of South Africa. The increased ties, links and interdependence are too manifold. As Zimbabwe has no access to the sea, it is dependent on the ports of other countries--among them those of South Africa. South African capital is invested in many enterprises of Zimbabwe, South African tourists were an important source of foreign exchange in the past. And not least: South Africa as a military power is a latent threat to the country.

Precisely on the day of our talk a press report on the invasion of South African agents in Zimbabwe reminds us of this danger. Mugabe plainly states: "South Africa is a hostile country. Hostile, because it pursues a policy of apartheid, a racist policy. With its acts of aggression and hostility it wants to prove that our government is unstable, that our economy does not advance, that we are failures." The black majority government is thus to be defamed as an unsuitable form of power for this region. Zimbabwe alone is not strong enough against this enemy. Nor are Lesotho and Mozambique--both are also constantly exposed to the attacks of Pretoria. Mugabe therefore supports the union of all progressive forces of the international community against the racist regime and calls for political, diplomatic and economic pressure on Pretoria. "Otherwise," he states, "South Africa will continue to act as the Israel of the region and do unto us as Israel does unto the Arab states. We must not allow that in Africa."

CSO: 3420/4

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